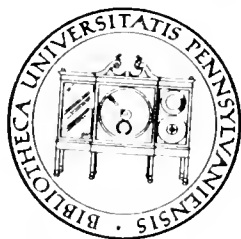


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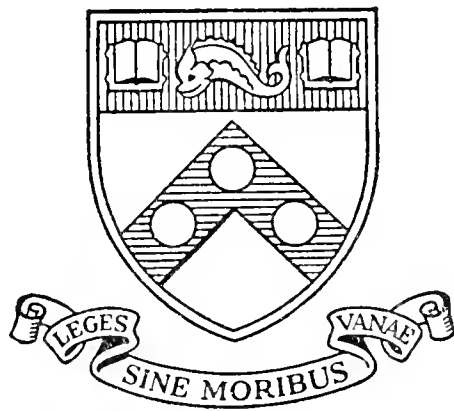
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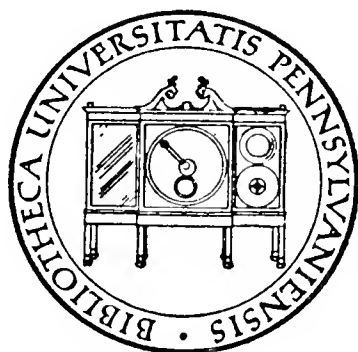


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In Search of the Earliest Traces of French Humanism: the Evidence from Codicology

GILBERT OUY*

THE aim of these pages is not to give a general survey of French Humanism in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. What they deal with is primarily the problem of investigating intellectual and literary facts of the late Middle Ages. Only, instead of considering it in the abstract, it will perhaps be more interesting to illustrate it with some concrete examples drawn from personal experience.

There are a few points on which it is necessary to insist.

First of all, the high proportion of important texts and facts which remain unknown.

Then, the inadequacy of most inventories of medieval manuscripts; and even, sometimes, the absence of any inventory at all. This prevents one from drawing up what might be termed a "strategy of research" in manuscripts; one has to put up with a "tactical" approach, making shots in the dark and trusting to one's good luck. In the case of Pierre d'Ailly's miscellany, for instance, we shall see how the final solution of a very intricate puzzle was reached through an almost unbelievable succession of coincidences.

Last, but not least, the concept that a medieval manuscript is not merely a text, but also an archeological object. The many scholars who still think of the intellectual contents as the only thing that matters are bound to overlook certain material details which are precisely the elements that would enable them to understand the significance of the text a good deal better. The archeological aspect is not, normally, more important than the text itself, but it should be examined first. In the case of the Rheims autograph of Nicolas de Clamanges's epistles, the close scrutiny of the vellum leaves under the

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ultraviolet lamp was enough to ruin the whole theory that French Humanism had come to an abrupt end in 1418.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Since all our examples concern the first appearance and early development of the French Humanist movement, it might be useful to begin with a brief summary of the situation from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards.

Even before Crécy, the Black Death, and Poitiers, France had begun to lose the position of cultural dominance it had acquired throughout Europe during the century of St. Louis. This decline in the prestige of French learning and literary culture is signalled in the well known passage of Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon* in which the learned bishop of Durham (who might well be considered the first great European Humanist, since he was born in 1287, some seventeen years before Petrarch) displays rhetorically affected grief over the decadence of the *Studium Parisiense* in particular and France in general:

¶ Isto, pro dolor! paroxysmo, quem plangimus, Parisiense palladium nostris maestis temporibus cernimus iam sublatum, ubi tepuit, immo fere friguit zelus scholae tam nobilis, cuius olim radii lucem dabant universis angulis orbis terrae. Quiescit ibidem iam calamus omnis scribae, nec librorum generatio propagatur ulterius, nec est qui incipiat novus auctor haberi. Involvunt sententias sermonibus imperitis, et omnis logicae proprietate privantur; nisi quod Anglicanas subtilitates, quibus palam detrahunt, vigiliis furtivis addiscunt.

¶ Minerva mirabilis nationes hominum circuire videtur, et a fine usque ad finem attingit fortiter, ut se ipsam communicet universis. Indos, Babylonios, Aegyptios atque Graecos, Arabes et Latinos eam pertransisse iam cernimus. Iam Athenas descruit, iam a Roma recessit, iam Parisius praeterivit, iam ad Britanniam, insularum insignissimam quin potius microcosmum, accessit feliciter, ut se Graecis et barbaris debitoricem ostendat. Quo miraculo perfecto, conicitur a plerisque quod, sicut Galliae iam sophia tepescit, sic eiusdem militia penitus evirata languescit.¹

There is, of course, some exaggeration in this description, making the text more interesting and characteristic of the national feeling developing among European intellectuals. National feelings aside, however, the second quarter of the fourteenth century was not a bril-

liant period in the history of the University of Paris. The first symptoms of recovery began to appear under the regency of the dauphin Charles (1356–1360), after Nicole Oresme had been nominated grand master of the Collège de Navarre in 1355.

In 1360, when Petrarch came to Paris as ambassador to King Jean le Bon, he found there a small group of learned men who welcomed him and with whom he had interesting conversations: Pierre Bersuire, encyclopedist and translator of Livy, Philippe de Rainzeville, Cardinal Guy de Boulogne, and, above all, Philippe de Vitry († 1361), a mathematician, musician, and poet, who was also versed in mythology and pagan literature; Petrarch, who hardly accepted the existence of poets outside Italy, considered him “*poeta nunc unicus Galliarum*.” But the fact that, in 1360, there was in Paris a handful of friends and admirers of Petrarch is not enough to indicate the emergence of a Humanist movement. Such a movement arose only some twenty years later, and it did not develop in a friendly atmosphere like that of 1360, but in a climate of exacerbated competition.

It was not literary competition alone that stirred French intellectual pride. At the beginning of 1367, after an absence of half a century, the papacy in the person of Urban V was about to return to Rome from Avignon. Charles V of France, fully aware of the damaging consequences of the pope’s departure, was especially concerned with the loss of prestige which such a move would mean for his kingdom. He sent a solemn embassy to Avignon and commissioned one of his high dignitaries, Anseau Choquart, to deliver a long speech to the pope to make him change his mind. It is interesting to read this little known text,² so typically medieval in both its style and its arguments, and in such sharp contrast with the contemporary writings of Petrarch himself, who was the great exponent of the papal return to Rome. It was on the occasion of Choquart’s speech that Petrarch wrote the famous sentence which aroused long lasting indignation in France: “*Oratores et poetae extra Italiam non quaerantur*.”³ Urban V left Avignon a few days after Choquart’s speech, but the situation he found in Italy was so unsettled that he soon returned to Avignon, where he died in December 1370. After further exchanges of polemics with French scholars, Petrarch died in 1374. Two years later, Gregory XI finally left Avignon for good and settled in Rome.

The loss of the Avignon papacy was felt as a great defeat by the French, essentially as a defeat of French eloquence. To fourteenth-century political and literary figures, words—whether written or spoken—were much more important than they are to us. Some time later, Giangaleazzo Visconti, duke of Milan, declared that a single letter of the chancellor of Florence, Coluccio Salutati, was worth a thousand men-at-arms. The duke's remark was not a witticism, but an estimate. For the leading men of the French royal chancery and the University of Paris, the problem, a very serious one, was how to snatch this terrible weapon Eloquence, wrought by Petrarch, out of the hands of the Italians and use it against them.

They eagerly set to work. The center of their activity seems to have been the Collège de Navarre,⁴ where the standard of classical culture climbed rapidly within a few years, with the result that the younger generation (people born after 1360) largely overtook those who were born ten or fifteen years before. In a letter written when he was still a young man,⁵ Jean Gerson (born in December 1363) displayed an amazing knowledge of Greek and Latin mythology, while, some years later, his learned master Pierre d'Ailly still mistook *Cytherea* for a musical instrument.

Another political crisis strengthened the new French learning. In 1378, soon after the election of a new pope, Urban VI, in Rome, some of the cardinals declared that they had voted under duress and that Urban was a usurper. They elected another pope, Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII and settled in Avignon the next year. The Schism lasted about forty years.

If the Schism was a disastrous period for the Church, it had important and partly favorable consequences for the development of the French Humanist movement. To begin with, conflicting loyalties to rival popes determined the departure to other universities of a great many masters and students obedient to Rome. They went especially to the young universities of Germany and central Europe: Heidelberg, Prague, and Vienna, for example. This dispersion cost the *Studium Parisiense* its status of intellectual hub of Europe; with all the greater urgency, therefore, did Paris claim this status. The old topic of the *Translatio studii*, which had long been taken for granted, became a leitmotiv in many treatises and orations now that several other universities (including Oxford) shared in the same pretension.

GERSON'S TREATISE AGAINST JUAN DE MONZÓN:
A HUMANIST MANIFESTO

A perfect example of the spirit of rivalry and emulation which prevailed at the University of Paris at the end of the eighties is a most remarkable treatise written by Jean Gerson about six years before he was nominated chancellor of the University. This text, which I published some years ago,⁶ was neither unknown nor even entirely unpublished; but, although the name of its author had been carefully mentioned by a librarian in the middle of the fifteenth century, Heinrich Denifle could not accept the ascription to Gerson who, he thought, was unable to write with such wit and in such elegant Latin.⁷ Yet none of his reasoning could change the facts that, historically, Gerson was the most likely candidate for the authorship and that, materially, the unique manuscript is an unfinished draft obviously written by Gerson (the striking resemblance between the writing of Johannes in the draft and the same name in Gerson's signature would have been, in itself, adequate proof). What is more, Gerson used two or three passages of this text in a sermon he later wrote.⁸

The text, which bears no title, is a treatise directed against the teaching of a Spanish Black Friar, Juan de Monzón, who began his lectures in Paris by attacking the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, a creed traditionally very dear to the Parisian masters.

The polemical part of the treatise acquaints us with young Gerson, a person quite different from the wise old man who wrote the *Consolatio theologie*, and practically unknown until very recently, witty, sarcastic, and often rather mischievous. Nominalism, which had long been condemned and repressed, was at last triumphing in Paris and loudly taking its revenge:

Miror vero cur hic peregrine doctrine peregrinus assertor [Juan de Monzón] quamadmodum [sic] caritatem sic asinum intellectivum volitivumque non effecit [. . .] Scio quid retraxerit: verebatur ne seipso rationabiliorem ac nobiliorem asellum haberemus. Hoc autem si pudebat, albedinem nigredinemque sive picarum atque corvorum aliquem in Dei contemplationem ac dilectionem debuerat evehere. Non vacabat fortassis? Edocere satis erat quamadmodum hec fierent longueque mirabilia: nam odium Dei hanc per artem intellectu atque voluntate investias; ei perinde dederis libertatem qua Deum diligere mererique poterit, et beatitudinis

particeps effici; quod si odio Dei tribuere id non velis, reperi cui concedere non pigebit. An sotular ['shoe'] tuus adest? Ei rationabilitatem adde ut te dirigat, mundique salvatorem ut te salvet constitue.⁹

This may sound like a prefiguration of Rabelais, but then it only goes to prove that Rabelais had kept a good deal of the medieval inheritance, for this type of joke had no doubt diverted many generations of students in the old rue du Fouarre (*vicus straminum*) before Gerson put it down on paper for posterity.

But there is also another kind of joke in this treatise; unlike the one just mentioned, this is quite new and, in a way, modern. It is found in the passages where Gerson portrays the Spanish friar:

Regnante serenissimo ac illustrissimo Francorum rege K[arolo] nominis huius vii^o [sic], Parisius ex Arragonia unde ortus erat, accesserat frater quidem [sic] ex illorum Ordine qui se Predicatores appellant, vir corpulentioris stature, sed animi tumiditate ingencior, boatumque grandem habens, ita ut sibi montuoso et sonoro non fortuito cognomen accessisse opinari possit: ei siquidem Johannes de Montesono nomen erat, cuius varias et facetas interpretaciones ab aliis datas linquo.¹⁰

This is how Gerson depicts the Dominican master beginning his lecture:

Itaque erigit se in pedes, et pulpitem pectore premens, ad auditores convertitur et, hausto forti spiritu dextraque vehementer excussa: "Hic, inquit, hic legitur vobis ista doctrina," quasi aut melior aut sanior nusquam esset.¹¹

The details may appear trivial, because we are used to reading short stories or novels where every character is carefully depicted. But at that period, it is quite a novelty. In his remarkable book entitled *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*,¹² which was published in 1860 but is still quite useful, Jakob Burckhardt lists a series of tendencies or intellectual attitudes that he considers characteristic of the Renaissance. Among these appears what he calls "depicting the look of man." Today such a good judge of Italian Humanism as Professor Eugenio Garin is still in total agreement with him: "With Humanism begins the research for a precise description of the face of every man: it becomes essential to reconstitute the look of a person."¹³ He writes this with regard to Leonardo Bruni, but it is also true of Gerson and other French Humanists of our period.

We shall find many more features characteristic of the new tendencies in the long introduction which precedes the body of the treatise against Juan de Monzón. To begin with, Gerson deplors the contrast between the glory of France, which has always been rich in heroic warriors and wise men, and the lack of historians or poets capable of celebrating that glory: "*Gallia que viris semper et strenuis bello et omni sapientia eruditis illustrata est, gravium et eloquencium hystoricorum atque poetarum magnam hactenus passa est inopiam.*"¹⁴ That amounts to saying Petrarch was right in making his famous statement, "*Oratores et poetae extra Italiam non quaerantur.*" This little adverb *hactenus* is highly significant. What young Gerson means is this: Until now, France has been lacking in historians or poets, but from now on, things will be changing, for here I am! This is almost exactly what he wrote on the next page, and what he thought.

We see here another of the features Burckhardt considered characteristic of the Renaissance: the development of personality. With a few exceptions in the twelfth century (I think of great authors like Abelard or Ivo of Chartres), the Ego is practically unknown to medieval French literature: medieval authors will normally write about things or ideas, not about themselves seeing those things or having those ideas. With the beginning of Humanism, the Ego manifests itself; it appears in many of Gerson's works; it is favored by the reappearance of the epistle in literature. Such an awareness of personality comes directly from Italy, but indirectly from Cicero and Pliny.

A feature which Burckhardt did not advance as a criterion of Renaissance, but perhaps should have, is the idea that one is doing something utterly new, something nobody else had ever done or even thought of doing. Gerson feels he is treading on virgin ground ("*nundum calcata semita*"), navigating an unexplored ocean ("*inexplorato prius mari me committo*"). The least one can say is that such a notion is most unmedieval. If we tried to find a medieval equivalent for our idea of Progress, we should have to use an expression implying that, on the contrary, one is going back to the past, to some Golden Age such as the time of St. Louis, or the reign of Charlemagne, or the primitive Church. The very concept of Renaissance—already familiar to Nicolas de Clamanges—means that one wants

to revive the brilliant civilization of Antiquity, buried for many centuries under the ruins of its splendid monuments, not to create something new. To the medieval mind, *novitas* is more or less equivalent to "heresy," and *res novae* sounds even more ominous than "revolution" to a Victorian Tory.

What young Gerson means to achieve is not merely to raise France to the level of the Greeks and Romans: France must transcend them. In his words, "Hec si nostris scribendi sollicitudo obtigisset, viros sane haberemus quos Ytalis Graecisque aut preponere liceret aut opponere, ac unde mordax lividaque emulorum gallici nominis insultatio repercute posset."¹⁵ So perhaps the modern idea of Progress originated partly from the growth of national feeling; Petrarch wanted to revive the glory of ancient Rome in Italy; therefore, the French had to go beyond. However, we find the very same conception expressed with fewer words one hundred and sixty years later in Joachim Du Bellay's *Defense et illustration de la Langue françoise*: "Sommes-nous donc moindres que les Grecs ou Romains?"

This parallel with The Pléiade of the sixteenth century is neither forced nor artificial. Both the imitation of classical Latin and the development of the medieval vernacular languages are justly considered by Burckhardt as characteristics of the Renaissance. Gerson, at the very time when he was trying to revive Cicero's Latin, was keen on writing the language of simple people, a language which was, according to Du Bellay, "dans son enfance." And he wrote it with the utmost purity and clarity, treating it with philological respect and carefully avoiding all those latinisms and neologisms in which The Pléiade was to be so profuse. What is more, he used the vernacular in literary works for which Latin had traditionally been used, and he was fully conscious that he was doing something new and somewhat surprising: "Aucuns se pourroient donner merveille pour quoy de matiere haulte comme est parler de la vie contemplative, je vuil escrire en francois plus que en latin, et plus a femmes que aux hommes, et que ce n'est pas matiere a gens simples sans lettre."¹⁶ Jean de Montreuil, too, wrote several political tracts in a sturdy French which contrasts sharply with his intricate and sometimes awkward Latin.¹⁷

Having deplored the fact that so many feats accomplished by the French had been lost for posterity because nobody had written about

them, Gerson tries to understand the reasons why it was so. Had French scholars been daunted by the immensity of the task? Had they been afraid to walk upon an untrodden path? Or did they just think this sort of literature would not pay? He goes on to declare:

Me frequens horum consideracio impulit ut causam fidei, quam ipsa Universitas Parisiensis nunc et olim prosequitur, quam verissime scriberem, non quod michi aut ingenium aut maior rariorque aliis insit facundia, sed quod hiis dum agerentur pene semper interfui, ut non audita tantum, sed visa scribere michi liceat; aliis forte non ita. Ratus quoque sum in hoc me fidei ac ipsi Universitati, cui totum me debeo, non inutiliter obsequi, si causam hanc in se maximam et coram illis duobus mundi luminibus ab eruditissimis viris agitatam, et que iam toto circonsonat orbe, indescriptam abire nequaquam permisero. Non, ut apud alios, ulla hic arma sonant, nec, ut lirici verbo utar, "lituo tube permixtus sonitus strepit" [a slightly altered quotation from Horace, *Odes*, 1.1.23–24]; nulla hic menium oppug-natio; non arietibus obrute turres; non mille mortis generibus strata humi corpora. . . . Michi, cui nec ingenii par vena est, nec exercicii tantumdem, satis est hunc fidei Universitatisque triumphum qualicumque stilo in aper-tum deducere, ita ut hystorie nulla sit violacio, quamvis in oracionibus ea que dicta sunt aut pro materia dici potuerunt, meis edisseram verbis, quoniam alienorum nec recordacio facilis nec brevis esset repeticio.¹⁸

Although we may gather from the few examples we have seen that perhaps Gerson did not entirely fulfill his program, it is very interesting to note that he defined his aim in terms of historical objectivity: "ita ut hystorie nulla sit violacio."

Gerson's lifetime coincided with the period in which History in the modern sense was beginning to get free from Chronicle. A few years before, Leonardo Bruni had finished his *Laudatio urbis Florentiae*, which Berthold Ullman considered the very first step into modern historiography. Soon afterwards, Jean de Montreuil wrote several treatises, including *De gestis et factis memorabilibus Francorum*, which, although primarily meant to defend the rights of the king of France, deserve to be called historical because they reveal a sense of synthesis and also because Jean de Montreuil, perhaps as a member of the royal chancery, knew how to do research in the archives.

The second part of Gerson's introduction is entirely devoted to praise of the University of Paris. It is the most ancient and the most important of all *studia*:

Parisiensis studii Universitas ut origine prior, sic gloria et dignitate ceteris eminencior semper fuit.

Eius ortum quidam e Roma trahunt, alii ab Athenis, ex Egipto alii; nonnulli vero traducunt eam a prophetis; reliqui e paradiso, sive illo terrestri ubi Ade infusa divinorum atque humanorum cognicio traditur, sive e celesti, ubi, si poetis fides est, ex Iovis vertice progenita est Minerva, sapientie dea. . . .¹⁹

One of the main characteristics of the University of Paris was the purity of its faith, its freedom from heresy. Had not St. Jerome already written, "Sola Gallia monstro caruit"? That means, Gerson says, "Nullibi enim quam in Gallia veriore, integriore, sincerioreque fidei professionem reperi." ²⁰ We shall find the same ideas and the same words in a long poem written by Gerson's friend Nicolas de Clamanges a few years later. It has been necessary to insist on this important text, and especially on its introduction, which is probably the first literary manifesto ever written in France.

GERSON'S *PASTORIUM CARMEN*:
THE FIRST FRENCH ECLOGUE (CA. 1381)

In the field of poetry too (in which Gerson also noted France to be lacking), he did his best; and he began very early indeed, since a long poem about the Schism, which I was lucky enough to discover some years ago, was certainly written when he was eighteen or nineteen years old. This poem is one of the earlier texts illustrating the birth of French Humanism.

In a long sermon delivered in Marseilles on November 9, 1403, in the presence of the Avignon pope Benedict XIII, Gerson, who was then almost forty years old, evoked the tribulations which the Schism inflicted upon the flock of the faithful, and he quoted a few lines he said he had written once when he was young: "Quam ego olim cladem juvenis pastorio carmine deplorans, heus inquam [,] 'Heus gregis impacata lues nimis, heu grave ruris / Exitium! Experta, heu pecoris sors. . . .' "²¹

When I first read those lines in Gerson's sermon, I was far from expecting that, soon after, I would retrieve the whole *Pastorium carmen*, in a manuscript where its presence was moreover quite unlikely.

MS. Paris B.N. Lat. 3638 is one of the many volumes Jean d'Angoulême (Charles d'Orléans' brother) copied or had copied during

his thirty years' captivity in England. A certain number of these manuscripts had been correctly identified by Gustave Dupont-Ferrier in the last years of the nineteenth century.²² I have found some thirty more. B.N. Lat. 3638 was on Dupont-Ferrier's list, and he gave a brief description of it. Except for Mlle Pellegrin, who recently drew attention to a text by Petrarch contained in this book,²³ no scholar seems to have been interested in it. The manuscript is made of a series of paper quires which have visibly been copied at different times, some by Jean himself, others by three members of his little circle, two Frenchmen and one Englishman. Some texts have been copied twice, and the various elements of the collection are gathered in some disorder. However, the contents are fairly homogeneous, being mostly composed of meditations, devotional treatises, and prayers in prose or verse.

At the beginning of this manuscript, on folios 4 to 12, there are seven poems, generally short, without any mention of the author, and, in most cases, without titles. I easily identified six of them as known poems of Gerson, five of which appear in *De canticis*, but in a different order. The first one, a dialogue in hexameters comprising 191 lines, begins like this:

Heu! gregis impacata lues, nimis—he! grave ruris
Exitium, experta et pecoris sors

In other words, it is that very poem he had written "once when he was young," the *Pastorium carmen* he had quoted in his sermon.

It was certainly not out of sheer carelessness that the name of Gerson was nowhere mentioned. As a matter of fact, it very seldom appears in the many manuscripts the two princes collected during their captivity, although I have been able to identify quite a number of works of Gerson among them. Another which I discovered and published some years ago is entitled *Deploratio super civitatem aut regionem que gladium evaginavit super se*.²⁴ I could not prove it had actually been written by Gerson, and all I ventured to say was that my ascription was very likely. But now it is proven, because I have found not only the copy made for Charles d'Orléans by an English scribe, but the model from which the latter had made his transcript. And this model is written in the very characteristic hand of Gerson's own

brother, whose name was also Jean, a Celestine monk. He was some twenty-two years younger than his illustrious brother, who treated him almost as his own son and also used him as a secretary and a copyist. What is more, this newly identified manuscript (which is in the Vatican library) helps to explain how those very rare works of Gerson (so rare, in fact, that two were hitherto unknown) got into the hands of the captive princes.

First of all, it is practically certain that not only the chancellor of Paris, but also his writings, were very badly thought of on the English side of the Channel, even after he was dead. He had opposed the English in various circumstances; he had been a staunch supporter of the king of Bourges; and, some months before his death, he even went so far as to write a treatise in which he claimed not only that Joan of Arc was not a witch, but that she was inspired by God.

Therefore, if Charles d'Orléans and his brother had received texts bearing the name of Gerson, these would most probably have been confiscated by their English captors. On the other hand, the two brothers no doubt considered Gerson a saintly man and were grateful to him for having so valiantly defended the memory of their murdered father against the slanders of Jean Le Petit. They somehow contrived to establish contact either with him, if he was still alive, or at least with his younger brother who lived in Lyons, probably through the channel of some monks or friars who had to travel from England to the occupied part of France. This might well account for the fact that the *Pastorium carmen* was almost certainly copied by Jean d'Angoulême from a model which was a draft written by Gerson long before he became the chancellor of Paris.

Jean d'Angoulême was much less cultured and much less intelligent than his brother Charles; but he was a very conscientious copyist, although not remarkably skilled. Yet his copy of the *Pastorium carmen* contains a considerable number of mistakes, some of them so serious that they render parts of the text unintelligible; not ordinary mistakes, but just the sort of mistakes a scribe will make when he copies an ill-written draft where some words have been left blank, others crossed out, and replaced by words more or less synonymous. In the last case, if the copyist is not too clever and is over-zealous, he will normally copy both words, the word which has been replaced and that which has replaced it; for example:

Titirus unus erat; huic multus grandis acervus.

“Multus acervus” would be correct; so would “grandis acervus”; but “multus grandis” is meaningless; what is more, there is one word missing. What was that big heap made of? His copy also contains certain slips of the pen which Gerson often committed in his drafts, for instance “quidem” instead of “quidam” (that occurs three or four times in the attack on Juan de Monzón), or “olivio” for “oblivio.” So we may assume that, after the death of the chancellor of Paris, his younger brother sent the draft of the old *Pastorium carmen* to the captive princes not only as a literary text, but also—and perhaps much more—as a precious relic of the deceased saintly chancellor.

The *Pastorium carmen* is an eclogue, in other words, a dialogue between two shepherds. But these are no ordinary peasants: the feminine character is Pales, goddess of flocks, and her partner is Pan, god of shepherds, respectively symbolizing the Church and Christ. They are still in love with each other, but they no longer live together; in fact, they have been parted for many years. They were once very poor, but very happy together, and their little flock was happy too. Alas, one day some oxen attacked Pan and tore his garment to pieces—it was a beautiful tunic made of the fleece of a spotless white ewe. Then the unfortunate god appeared naked, causing a panic and a general stampede of the sheep in all directions. Only after Pan had put on a new tunic, this time made of linen, did the sheep consent to come back. Then Pan bade farewell to Pales and went up into the mountains; but he took great care to hunt out an excellent shepherd to help Pales, a man by the name of Cephis. So the flock was well looked after for some time.

Unfortunately, Pales made the acquaintance of a wealthy farmer, Tityrus, who owned a large flock of black sheep. This man suffered from a strange disease, multicolored leprosy. Pales’s new shepherd, whose name was Sylvester, cured him with a very efficient ointment. Then Tityrus decided to marry Pales, and he had his sheep well washed, so that they turned as white as his wife’s. But here is where all the trouble began. Tityrus showered Pales with presents: honey, incense, milk, violets, gold, rubies, and many rich garments; but, instead of making her happy, those riches made her utterly miserable. The sheep grew too fat and became wicked; although they had so

much to eat, they kept fighting for food. They also suffered from various diseases. What is more, instead of one good shepherd, Pales now had two who were worthless. One was very lazy and kept sleeping; the other had no authority with his flock and let himself be led by his sheep and goats instead of leading them. At first, Pan could not believe what Pales told him, because it sounded so incredible, especially that the riches Tityrus had given her could be the cause of such evils. So he went to inspect the flock and was appalled by what he saw. On coming back from his inspection, he swore to Pales that he would soon arrange everything and put an end to the division of her flock.

The symbolism of this long eclogue strikes us at once as very complicated and somewhat naive; but, apart from the fact that young Gerson's hexameters are less correct, there is little difference between Gerson's *Pastorium carmen* and Petrarch's twelve eclogues grouped under the general title of *Bucolicum carmen*²⁵ or Boccaccio's seventeen eclogues, also entitled *Bucolicum carmen*.²⁶ In the latter's eleventh eclogue, for instance, we have a dialogue between lovely Myrtilis, who represents the Church, and Glaucus, who stands for St. Peter. They talk about the life, passion, and resurrection of Jesus Christ in about a hundred lines, in which we find the names of practically every god and demigod of Greek and Latin mythology. Boccaccio chose the name Myrtilis for the Church because the leaves of myrtles are red underneath like the blood of martyrs, and green on top, like the hope of salvation.

Now there is at least one point where the comparison is in favor of Gerson: he is much bolder than his models. For instance, Petrarch made one obscure reference to the Donation of Constantine, but it was really very mild compared with what Gerson dared to write on the subject. Also in one remarkable line at the beginning of his poem (line 10) he compared the two popes to two thieves trying to steal the sheep from a pen at night. In the sermon he delivered in 1403 in the presence of Pope Benedict XIII, Gerson did not quote this line, stopping at line 9. Perhaps he thought the Avignon pontiff would not be amused. Of course, this boldness can be explained partly by the fact that the author was only nineteen when he wrote his poem; but it is also true that the Schism created a situation in which the spirit of criticism could develop. Here again, we find one of the criteria listed by Burckhardt: a new attitude toward religion.

acceptisset tñ demq̃ familie luti atq; in primumq; fumi inuoluit. p̃terea	at p̃terea quodam autē
q̃ aurum. dñz illa quonda p̃terea paulo antea Geo: fuisse tñ oppiam de opa	aut illa
p̃p̃riā consummā uolueret: eā sibi domū sedēq; uimose delectu in qua coti	at
sic sup̃ioris uiri mortis iudicia p̃ spolia fortuna: eaderet. Illud p̃mū q̃or ab	at
ito scelerē quod nūc demq; p̃terea fuit est: habundam denem quod iam in uer	
suspectam cōd huc m̃credibīlē nūc b̃ro atq; in omibz ac manifestum b̃det:	
nūc est profecto de illo deneno celata nūc m̃credibīlē ab oppiam sine consilio mu	
liens uolunt q̃ m̃si eēt ite postea dephensa re nō illa ut ab improbo b̃ro d̃f̃as	at a b̃ro improbo d̃f̃
fisset si ut a crudelissimo hoste fuisset. Domūq; illam in p̃petuū scelerē cōmūstā	at cōmūstā ac fluctuā
eutem reliquisset. nō nō id nō fuit si ab illo tempore nullū locū p̃termisit in	at atq; noctes tota m̃te
quo non instrueret m̃fidiā aliquas ac dies om̃s ac noctes totas mente mater	
de p̃mū filij uolueret que p̃mū ut illū uisumaret oppiam accusatorem	
filio suo. Domū m̃credibīlē collocauē filij p̃ hereditas obfirmat. ita q̃ ap̃	at inuenit collocatōe filij
ceteros uos nūc p̃mūq; susceperat inimiciā sepe f̃ duorū atq; affmū	at adfirmat
distidia uidēmus. hec mulier facia firmū accusatorem filio suo fore neminem	
putauit. nūc qui in m̃fidiā p̃terea eia in d̃f̃as. Ceteri uos affmūq;	
adducti. Ceteri inimiciā sepe deponit. neq; m̃o solū d̃f̃as fuit ut accusa	at illa sibi ad confirmatōe
turē filio suo compararet. hinc eia ille sollicitatōe fuorū p̃ m̃is p̃ promissu	at inimiciā adfirmatōe
hinc ille m̃fidiā crudelissime q̃ de morte oppiam q̃ones quibz finē alij nō mu	at confirmatōe p̃terea f̃
liens modus famulorū auctoris fecit ab eadē f̃as ille tremio post habere	
larum p̃ones eiusdem amēcie f̃as conscriptōes p̃onū. Ex eadē furore illa confē	
serata exēcio lingue tota demq; huius ab illa est p̃ m̃ienta p̃ adornata comparitō	
cōmū. Atq; h̃o rebz nō m̃fidiā accusatōe filio suo tota ip̃a m̃fidiā paulist	
equitendū p̃ conuocandū restitū nō larum est comorata postea aut tñ ad p̃m	
piare huius iudiciū ei nūc nūc est: confestim huc uoluit ne aut cūcūq; d̃f̃	
ligēda aut pecuniā restitū deesset aut ne fore mater hoc sibi optatissimū spectaculū	
hunc sordū atq; luctus et tanti spuloris amitteret. Jam b̃ro quod ite romanū eia m̃	
liens fuisse op̃mū: quod ego p̃mū uicinitatē adfirmatū et adfirmatū cōmūstā	
dui et compen quod concursus in h̃a op̃mū quates et d̃mū et m̃fidiā gēntis eē	
fatos m̃fidiā quonda luctu atq; illūq; amari h̃p̃ero tota p̃f̃as cū m̃fidiā	
comitatu et pecuniā quo facilius exuēntre iudicio capitis atq; opprimere f̃mū possit	
nemo erit illorū pene d̃mū quim opprimere illūq; locū eē arbitratōe quicūq; illa ite	
fecisset nemo quim t̃mū ip̃am uolari que mater est om̃mū uolūq; cōcelerare matō	
putaret. Itaq; nullo in op̃mū cōmūstā potestas ei fuit nemo q̃or h̃p̃mū m̃	
tus est qui non cōmūstā aspectus f̃as nō se potius ac solitudinē quam ṽlū	
aut t̃mū aut h̃p̃mū cōmūstā. Nūc vero quid agat quid moliat quid demq;	
cotidie cogitet quem ignare m̃fidiā putat. quos appelleret quibus pecuniā pro	

Plate 1. A typical page of the famous Clark manuscript (MS. Paris B.N. Lat. 14749, f.231^r). The top part was copied by a scribe; the bottom part was added by Nicolas de Clamanges in a space left blank (very probably because the passage was missing in the model). He also added the variants in the margins; only part of them are visible; many others were erased and can only be read with the help of the ultra-violet lamp. Phot. Bibl. nat. Paris.

et pto. ptoem. Loxias cognominat ut at oenopides

id est qd obliquū oculū ab occasu ad orientē pgit. aut
ut cleantes scribit

qd flexuosum it ppergit

uel qd transversos in nos a me

radie imittit radios cum sim ad ipm septētrionales.

Deius cognominat^{lmm} ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ φανερά πάντα ποιεῖν
p illuminando omnia clara demōstret φῶς hoc appellatus
ut ait cornifici us ἀπὸ τοῦ φοιτᾷ βία qd die ferē. pleriq;
aut a specie et nitore phebon idē. καταρὼν καὶ λαμπρὼν
dictū putat. Itē phaneta appellat

quia sol cotidie renouat se

Vnde iunctis mane nouum. Camericienses qui sacra soli inco
lunt in sula ΔΕΙΓΕΝΕΤΙ apollini imolant

ΔΕΙΓΕΝΕΤΟΝ καὶ ΔΕΙΓΕΝΑΙ idē quod semp ex ortu gignitur
qd ipse genat uniuersam somnando fouendo pducendo
alendo agendoq; apollinis huius plures accipimus cogno
minis causas. Antipater stois licū apolline nūciatum
scribit ἀπὸ τοῦ ΔΕΙΚΑΙΝΕΤΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΦΟΤΙΣΟΝΤΟΣ ΗΛΙΟΥ.

Cleantes licū apolline apellatū notat. qd uelut lupi pe
cora rapiunt. ita ipse quoq; humore eripit radios. pta
grecorū pma luce q pcedit solis exortu ^{ΛΥΚΗ} ^{LYCEN} appel
laueunt

Id tempore hodieq; licophos cogno
minat de quo ipse poeta ita scribit

Idē homerus ΕΥΧΕΟ Δ' ΑΠΟΛΟΝΙ ΛΥΚΗ

qd significat τῷ ΓΕΝΝΑΩΝΤΙ ΤΗΝ ΛΥΚΗΝ idē qui generat exor
tu suo lucē. radiorū enim splendor p pinqūate solē longē lateq;
pcedens atq; caliginē paulatim extenuas tenebrarū.
paret lucē. Neq; min⁹ romani ut plerq; alia ex grecis
ita et lucē uident^r alyce figurasse. Annū quoq; uetustis
simi grecorū ΛΥΚΑΒΑΥΤΑ appellabāt^r ἀπὸ τοῦ ΛΥΚΩ id est
solē. βαυνομένη καὶ μετρομένη ^{LYCEN} ΛΥΚΩΝ aut solē uocari oia

nichil requirunt. Improbis autē & auari.
 quā inuictas atq; in casu positas posset
 siones hūē. & plus semper appetūt. nec
 eorū qui sām inuenta est cui quod hēret
 esset satis. nō mō nō ce. 10 si aduiter.
 sed etiam mores & aueris existimā di
 cat. EXPLICIT PARADOCE

Aulus Cicero salutē. d. publico lentulo p
 cōsul. Ego omj offitio ac potius pietate
 erga te satisfacio omib; in ipē nūq; satisfatio. Ti
 ta. n. magnitudo est morū erga me meritos ut auz
 tu n pftā re tēme nō quiescas. Ego qz nō idē in
 tua cā effitio vitā in acerbas putes. In cā hec sūt
 a. monius regis legatus aperte pūma nos opu
 gnāt. Res agitur pcosces credentes p quos cū tu
 adderas agebat regis cā si quis se qui velint
 qui pūma st os rez ad pūmā referri volūt. Se
 nat^r religiois calūniāz nō religione si malivolētia
 et illi regie largitiois iudiciā oprobat pūmūz
 thortari et ozare tūz liberi actūare tmonē ut
 magnūz i famūz fugiat nō resistim^r. Sed plane
 nec pūb; mīs nec amolitoib; relinquit locūz. Nūz
 cū is mone cotidiano cū isenatu palz sic egit
 cūz tūā ut neq; eloquētia maiore qsq; nē gūta
 re nē studio nē gteptione agere potuerit cū summa

Plate 3. Nicolas de Clamanges's first attempt at writing Humanistic script (MS. Paris B.N. Lat. 15138, f. 91^r). There are still many Italian features which he eliminated later, for instance the final "m" shaped like a figure 3. At the top of the page, one can see a specimen of the semi-Humanistic script he had been using in other manuscripts (MS. Paris B.N. Lat. 14752, 14749, etc.). Phot. Bibl. nat. Paris.

al. uiuendi. al. ipse

al. sententia.

nō me deserens. sed respectans. i ea profecto loca discessit
quo mihi ille cōnebat eē uiuendi. Quem ego mei
casum fortiter ferre uisus sum. non quo equo animo
ferren. sed me ipē consolabar existimās non longuq̄m
int̄ nos disgressum et discessum fore. his mihi rebus
Sapio. id enim te cum Lelio admirari solere dixisti. le
uis est senectus. nec solum non molesta. sed etiā iocun
da. Q. si i hoc erro qui aīnos hoīm imortales eē credi.
libenter erro. nec mihi hunc errorem quo delector di
uino extorqueri uolo. Sin mortuus sit quidam philo
sophi censeat nihil sententiā nō ueror. nec hunc er
rorem meū philosophi mortui irideant. Q. si nō sum
imortales futuri. tamen extingui hōi suo tempore opta
bile est. Nam habet natura ut aliarū omīum rerum
sic uiuendi modū. Senectus aut̄ etatis p̄fectio tanq̄ fa
bule cui defatigationē fugē debemus p̄fectam adui
cta satietate. Hec habui de senectute que dicam ad
quā utinā pueiat ut ea q̄ ex me audistis. it̄ experti
probare possi t i s.

Plate 4. Nicolas de Clamanges's Humanistic script (MS. Paris B.N. Lat. 15138, f.111^v, end of Cicero's *De senectute*), ca. 1417. Diacritical accents are unfortunately not visible in this photograph. Phot. Bibl. nat. Paris.

In a book published in 1938, entitled *L'Eglogue en France au XVI^e siècle*, Alice Hulubei wrote that, while Vergilian eclogues appeared in Italy toward the middle of the fourteenth century, they did not make their first appearance in France until some 175 years later, during the reign of Francis the First, with Macrin and Scaliger, the latter being an Italian who lived in France. We know now that the time lag actually did not exceed thirty-five years.

May it not have been possible, however, that the young Gerson chanced to read Petrarch's *Bucolicum carmen* and decided to imitate it just to see what it was like to write an eclogue, and that was all? I have, as a matter of fact, found yet another eclogue written by a French scholar of the same period, a fellow-student of Gerson at the Collège de Navarre and a close friend of his, Nicolas de Clamanges; this time it is neither clumsy nor naive, but quite close to Petrarch's standard. What reason have we to suppose that these two are the only eclogues written in France during that period?

NICOLAS DE CLAMANGES'S ECLOGUE (1394)

Ms. Paris B.N. Lat. 16403, which belonged to the Sorbonne collection, is a fine little book, written in an elegant, round, book-cursive on good quality vellum. It contains eleven texts: eight treatises and letters by Nicolas de Clamanges (the text of many of them being considerably different from that of later copies), two sermons by Gerson, and a poem of about 180 hexameters, placed between two letters of Nicolas de Clamanges and bearing no title or mention of an author. An eighteenth-century librarian pencilled a note at the top of the first page suggesting that it ought to be another work of Clamanges, "ob styli conformitatem"—which is always a very weak argument.

The characteristics of the script indicate that this manuscript must have been written quite early in the fifteenth century. It is probably later than 1402, the likely date of Gerson's sermon *De temperantia prelatorum*, and certainly earlier than 1415, date of the death of the Jean d'Arsonval whose signature appears on the last folio. Now it is possible to recognize the hand of Nicolas de Clamanges in several corrections written in the margins of most of his eight texts and of the poem, but not in those of the two texts by Gerson. But this proves only one thing, which is that we have an original manuscript

(actually it is practically faultless); it does not prove that Clamanges was the author of the poem.

I asked my friend Dr. Dario Cecchetti, who is preparing a critical edition of Clamanges's letters, to publish this poem.²⁷ He found the final proof that Clamanges was really the author. In one of his letters, Jean de Montreuil defended his friend Clamanges against the criticisms of Laurent de Premierfait, who was known for having translated Boccaccio's *Decameron* and *De casibus* into French, but who was also praised by Antonio Loschi as the greatest living poet in France. He probably considered himself, in fact, the only one! Why did Premierfait criticize Clamanges? For using *recens* as an adverb instead of *recenter* (this appears in the poem; but, as Clamanges rightly pointed out, Vergil did that too); and also for using the adjective *Palilia* in the wrong place and with a wrong meaning ("extra suum significatum et accentum"). Actually we do find this very rare word in the poem, used in a wider sense than in Ovid's verses, and definitely "extra accentum," since the hexameter is false. This cannot be a coincidence.

The poem owes next to nothing to Petrarch, but a lot to Vergil (especially the *Georgics*) and to Ovid. It consists of a dispute between two shepherds. Alexis pokes fun at his friend Philarus for thinking of nothing else but his flock instead of enjoying life, sleeping, or making love to pretty girls. One can easily imagine what virtuous Philarus has to answer. He describes all the disastrous consequences of carelessness for the sheep. Toward the end of the eclogue, he prophesies that the flock will recover the happiness and peace it enjoyed in the days of old and will be led by a good shepherd:

Fons extat liquidus et sorde immunis ab omni,
Nomine preclaro notus famaue celebri.
Hic quondam sacer Acteis urbique Quirini,
Gallica nunc demum tellus colit, illius omnem
Quadrifido late perfundit gurgite campum,
Inque situ longo distantes refluit oras.
Huius ab uberibus scatebris et sede profectus
Irrigua, sollers surget scitusque regendi
Omnigeni pastor pecoris. . . .²⁸

The theme of the *Translatio studii* which Gerson had developed in his treatise against Juan de Monzón is clearly recognizable here. This

pure spring of unpolluted water is, of course, the University of Paris. It was worshipped first by the Greeks, then by the Romans, and finally by the French (*Translatio studii*). It divides into four streams (the four Faculties) and flows to distant lands. From the place where it wells forth will come the man who will be shepherd of the whole flock.

The poem was certainly written by Clamanges between September 22, 1394, when the news of the death of Clement VII reached Paris, and October 9, when it was announced to Charles VI that a new pope, Benedict XIII, had been elected. Now who was the cardinal in favor of whom Clamanges made this propaganda? Probably Pierre de Thury.

But that is only the minor aspect. What is important is the fact that our poet deliberately opposed the main ideas of Petrarch, who had died twenty years before, especially those set forth in the *Bucolicum carmen*: the role of Rome and the superiority of Italian culture. He probably saw himself as the French Petrarch, or even the Anti-Petrarch.

NICOLAS DE CLAMANGES: A LEADING CHARACTER OF THE FRENCH HUMANIST MOVEMENT

Few people in France were capable of playing such a role. Nicolas de Clamanges was, and he knew it. He was conscious both of his own value and of the importance of the enterprise. In several letters, especially one to his great friend Gontier Col, he claims the honor of having revived Eloquence, which the French had long left buried, of having caused “*ipsam eloquentiam diu sepultam in Galliis quodam modo renasci*.” That is what modern Italian historians call “*la coscienza della Rinascita*” (‘the consciousness of Renaissance’).²⁹

Three characteristic features of Clamanges’s work which were hitherto unknown are of great importance: the discovery of new classical texts; the attempts to write Greek; and, finally, the introduction of Humanistic script into France in the second decade of the fifteenth century.

1. CLAMANGES’S PHILOLOGICAL WORK

For one who wants to revive Eloquence, it is essential to find good models. And could one find better models than those of ancient

Rome, especially Cicero? Therefore, as Petrarch had done before him, Clamanges looked for ancient manuscripts, and copied and collated classical texts with the care and scrupulousness of a real philologist.

In 1905, a great British scholar, Albert Clark, devoted a whole book to one manuscript, MS. Paris B.N. Lat. 14749, a collection of orations of Cicero copied in France at the beginning of the fifteenth century.³⁰ He demonstrated the great importance of this codex for the history of European philology; for it contains two texts which were supposed to have been retrieved by Poggio Bracciolini during the Council of Constance, the *Pro Roscio Amerino* and the *Pro Murena*. These two orations appeared in a very ancient codex which came from the abbey of Cluny and was sent by Poggio to Florence probably as early as 1415. Then it was lost or destroyed after Poggio's friends Guarino and Barbaro had painstakingly made a transcript of it. How then could it be possible that the anonymous Frenchman who had copied this manuscript should have had access to the newly discovered texts?

Remigio Sabbadini suggested that "Chi volesse avviare diligenti indagini, riuscirebbe forse a scoprire nel sunnominato Parig. 14749 la mano del Montreuil o di alcuno dei suoi amici."³¹ The clever Italian scholar was not wide of the mark; for, if the hand is not that of Jean de Montreuil (who was an active researcher of classical texts too), it is indeed that of one of his closest friends, Nicolas de Clamanges.

Now that it has become evident that Clamanges, who certainly knew his Florentine colleague well, had been working on the Cluny manuscript before Poggio sent it to Florence, we shall be able to read with new eyes this colophon which appears at the end of various Italian copies of the *Pro Caecina*, another of Cicero's orations which Poggio is supposed to have discovered a little later in 1417:

Hanc orationem antea culpa temporum deperditam Poggius latinis viris restituit et in Italiam reduxit, cum eam diligentia sua in Gallia reclusam in silvis Lingonum adinvenisset conscripsissetque ad Tullii memoriam et doctorum hominum utilitatem.³²

Whatever Poggio was doing in that forest of Langres, he was certainly not discussing manuscripts of Cicero. Perhaps it was merely

a poetic way of saying that he had discovered this manuscript in a library in Langres or in the vicinity. But this is equally unlikely, since, some twenty years before, Nicolas de Clamanges, when he settled in Langres as treasurer of the cathedral chapter, bitterly complained of the great lack ("magna angustia") of interesting books in the region. Therefore, the last possibility is that he made his grand discovery in the study of his colleague—or, more exactly, future colleague, for, in the next year Clamanges resumed his former activity as secretary to the new pope Martin, whilst Poggio, also a papal secretary, left Constance and went to England.

Nicolas de Clamanges certainly had a good quantity of manuscripts of Cicero in his study, together with copies of Vergil and Macrobius. I have identified seven such manuscripts which not only belonged to him, but which were, for the most part, written in his own hand. In the margins of these manuscripts he added an amazing quantity of variants; so many, in fact, that, in some cases, he had to erase those he had written previously in order to make room for new ones which he probably considered more interesting. This is rather important from the point of view of intellectual history; because, with the exception of Sabbadini (who guessed with remarkable intuition the part played by some French Humanists), it was generally believed that philology had practically remained an Italian monopoly until the beginning of the sixteenth century. In this case again, as with the eclogues, we can see now that the time lag was, in fact, much shorter.

2. CLAMANGES AND THE GREEK LANGUAGE

We shall come to the very same conclusion about another feature which is also characteristic of the Renaissance movement: interest in the Greek language.

Two or three attempts had already been made in Florence to establish the teaching of Greek when, in 1396, on the initiative of the old chancellor of the Republic, Coluccio Salutati, a Byzantine diplomat named Manuel Chrysoloras was invited to deliver a series of lectures in Greek every year. Leonardo Bruni was among his first and most gifted students. Bruni's colleague Poggio Bracciolini made less progress, and he himself admitted he knew precious little Greek until he really set to work. That time came when he spent some years in

England with other Italian Humanists after the Council of Constance. However, he certainly had a basic knowledge of the language at the time when we are bound to suppose he was in contact with his learned French colleague Nicolas de Clamanges, that is, during the Council, when he was picking manuscripts of Cicero "in silvis Lingonum." This knowledge of Greek might account for a very interesting fact.

Among the classical manuscripts identifiable as copied by Clamanges appears a copy of the *Saturnalia* by Macrobius.³³ This work contains a unusual number of Greek quotations. In most medieval manuscripts, Greek quotations are represented by lines of curious little signs which are utterly meaningless ("Graecum est, non legitur"). In some of his earlier copies, Clamanges had done that too. Now he did something much better: he left large blank spaces. Many of these spaces were subsequently filled in by somebody using a much darker ink. One's first impression was, of course, that the Greek sentences had probably been added much later by a learned librarian of the abbey of Saint Victor. But a close comparison of the Greek letters with those of the Latin text, especially the capitals, soon led to a totally different conclusion. Obviously, it was Clamanges himself who had added the Greek quotations. The script looks a bit like uncial; the letters are not linked together; it is at the same time clumsy, and yet not at all ugly. There are a few misspellings (I replaced by H, or even Y; confusion between O and Ω, and so on); but, on the whole, it remains quite intelligible. The frequent substitution of ϣ for ζ, which is typically Italian, seems to show that Clamanges studied with an Italian. Of course, one immediately thinks of Poggio. It was not until 1458 that, for the first time, Greek was taught in Paris by Gregorio da Città di Castello, generally known as Tiphernas. But we see now that Clamanges, for one, had tried much earlier.

3. CLAMANGES AND HUMANISTIC SCRIPT

Besides philology and the study of Greek, Nicolas de Clamanges played a role in the evolution of calligraphy. The late Berthold Ullman published an exciting book on *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script*.³⁴ In this work, he explained how young Poggio had "invented"—or more exactly revived—this script as early as

1400; and it had a long lasting success, since today's printers are still using it. The new script soon became very popular in Italian learned circles; it was formerly believed that the French had made no use of it until much later, more precisely as late as about 1460, when Guillaume Fichet was supposed to have brought it back from Rome. Some authors even wrote that Humanistic script had been introduced into France through books printed in Italy!

The script used by Clamanges for copying most of his classical manuscripts is a strange mixture—which I personally consider rather unattractive—of French book-Gothic and Italian Humanistic. But when one examines his manuscripts more closely, it becomes clear that Clamanges, who was a very keen amateur copyist, had also tried various other styles. At first, he made some servile and rather clumsy imitations of the script of his colleague Poggio Bracciolini. But, since Clamanges spent his life denying that he owed anything to Italy in general or to Petrarch in particular, it is not to be expected that he would use Italian Humanistic script for very long. Instead, he invented a beautiful Humanistic script of his own, a purely French Humanistic script, since he had obviously borrowed it from French manuscripts of the late twelfth century. So far I have found only a few pages of this script; I hope to come upon further specimens.

This curious little discovery should probably determine a certain widening of the meaning of the term "Humanistic script," which might well be extended to any type of ancient script—Carolingian or other—revived by the Humanists of that period. There is also a very interesting, although none too obvious, feature in this script to which attention should be drawn, that is, the use of some long oblique accents. They appear, although not systematically, when it is necessary to distinguish between two homonyms, for instance, *una* (feminine of the adjective *unus*) and *uná* (adverb which means "together"); in some other cases, these accents seem not to serve any particular purpose: one might think they are there just for beauty's sake. The late Professor Ullman had noted the presence of such diacritic accents in several Italian manuscripts, but he did not try to explain it. It would be interesting to know who first had the idea of introducing these accents, the use of which was advocated by the Pseudo-Priscian (*De accentibus*). Poggio does not seem to have made use of them.

DID CLAMANGES REPUDIATE HUMANISM?
THE EVIDENCE OF ULTRAVIOLET RAYS

A great deal could be said about the recognition of medieval hands, a technique which permitted the various identifications we have been surveying. But the script is not the only aspect that should be examined. The parchment itself, among other things, may be important.

A few years ago I chanced to discover a beautiful autograph manuscript of the letters of Nicolas de Clamanges in the city library of Rheims.³⁵ Judging by the additions and various alterations written by the author in the margins or between the lines, this newly identified manuscript was definitely earlier than the well known copy of the same texts kept in Montpellier, which is only partly autograph.³⁶ Alfred Coville, who wrote several books on intellectual life in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century France, was positive that the Montpellier manuscript could not possibly have been copied any later than the summer of 1418, for the obvious reason that, after that date, Clamanges, as he himself declared, had acquired a totally new outlook. He was thenceforth interested in nothing except the Holy Bible and the Fathers of the Church.³⁷ He heartily despised and loathed all those things he had been so keen on in his younger days, such as pagan poetry and rhetorical letter writing. This alleged change in the interests of the great Humanist was, as a matter of fact, one of the grounds on which Coville founded his theory of the abrupt end, after the tragic events of the spring of 1418, of what he called "The First French Humanism." It is, therefore, really important to know whether or not he was right.

Without considering Nicolas de Clamanges's psychology, one can begin to approach the problem by taking a good look at the Rheims manuscript under an ultraviolet lamp. We find out immediately that what looked in ordinary light like good quality white parchment is, in fact, secondhand stuff. Did Clamanges know it, or was his stationer a swindler? In any case, his manuscript hides a whole book of accounts, in which the latest date I could read was 1421. Now we must realize that these documents were not copied just in order to be washed out the next morning; they were, no doubt, kept for at least four or five years by the royal administration before being sold to a dealer in secondhand parchment, who would bleach them and then

sell them either to stationers or directly to private users. All this must have been quite a long process; so I doubt very much if the Rheims manuscript could possibly have been copied any earlier than 1426 or 1427. Therefore the Montpellier manuscript, which registers not only the changes made in the margins of the Rheims copy, but also some later changes of which we have no direct witness, is certainly not earlier than 1430.

As to the letter in which Clamanges claimed to repudiate Humanism, it was probably written much earlier than 1418, perhaps in the very days when he was busy checking his Cicero manuscripts and inventing a new and purely French style of Humanistic script! It is not the only letter in which he expressed the same decision. He wrote several letters to his fellow Humanists Gontier Col and Jean de Montreuil to the same effect, as early as 1400. Repudiating Humanism was easy, but Humanism, for Clamanges as for St. Jerome, did not easily stay repudiated. This little anecdote only goes to prove how decisive in some cases the archeological scrutiny of a manuscript can be from the point of view of intellectual history.

MANUSCRIPTS ARE RARELY WHERE THEY SHOULD BE:
THE CASE OF AMBROGIO MIGLI

The examples we have seen illustrate the importance of the archeological aspect of manuscripts for intellectual history. The lesson we might draw from the case of Ambrogio Migli is of a different character: it mainly goes to prove that, when making an investigation, it is more useful to look *at* the documents than to look *for* them, since one seldom finds them where they should be.

Ambrogio Migli was born in Milan about 1360 and began his career as a secretary in the chancery of the Visconti. He later took service with Duke Louis d'Orléans, brother of King Charles VI and husband of Valentina Visconti. He was, at first, a great friend of the French Humanist Jean de Montreuil, who welcomed him in Paris, and even put him up for some time. But after a few years, they were no longer on speaking terms. The only text written by Ambrogio which had hitherto been identified was a long letter addressed to their mutual friend Gontier Col in which he denigrated Jean de Montreuil.³⁸ We have several letters of abuse written by Montreuil to Ambrogio, in which the latter is accused, among other things, of

being an ignoramus unable to decline correctly such a simple word as *porta-portae*, an atheist and a sodomite, “cuius cohabitatio quantum plerosque promiscui sexus infecerit, rei turpitudine non sinit dicere, neque conciperet cor mundum, aut pudicum eructaret.”³⁹

More than twenty years ago, when I was beginning my research on the library of Duke Charles d’Orléans, my attention was drawn to the title of one of the lost manuscripts described in the inventories: *Lettres closes de Maistre Ambroise, metreffices, adreçans a nos Seigneurs*.⁴⁰ This sounded like a collection of political poems, and I supposed that this “Maistre Ambroise” could very well be Ambrogio Migli; so I kept looking for this lost book, but it was nowhere to be found.

Some years later, I was studying the contents of a very thick manuscript that had belonged to the abbey of St. Victor when I noticed a most unusual document. It consisted of a large sheet of paper not pasted, but sewed transversely to facing pages; it was written in a thick script looking more Italian than French, on one side of the sheet, which had more or less the appearance of a small poster; as a matter of fact, it was very probably meant to be nailed to a gate. The text is a short poem of thirty-three Latin hexameters saying roughly this:

Here I come again, I, Mercury, dispatched by Jupiter to you, Christian nations, and especially to you, France, in order to repeat his previous message. Don’t forget the gods have chosen Louis, your king’s brother, to be the future Emperor of the whole world. All other princes must respect him, and not dare try to upset the hierarchy. I have spoken. Now, Ambrose, write this in verse.⁴¹

Who could this mortal named Ambrosius be to whom Mercury spoke in such commanding tone, but the Milanese secretary of Louis d’Orléans? This short poem certainly came second or third in a series of texts to the same effect, very probably those “lettres closes metreffices” which had later been copied together in the manuscript mentioned in the inventory and which I had kept looking for.

Although, for other reasons, I had to examine every single manuscript of the St. Victor collection very closely, no other such poem turned up. About a year later, I was studying a manuscript of unknown origin which contained many texts about the great Schism, when I suddenly recognized the first poem of the lost series. This time, Ambrosius gave his full identity at the end:

Ambrosii tandem, Miliis cognomen habentis,
Italici teneris, Galli maioribus annis,
Quem Mediolani, Ligurum regina caputque,
Urbs, peperit. . . .⁴²

He even gave the date, 1404. This earlier poem is much longer and much more explicit than the later one already described. It lists all the reasons why Louis d'Orléans, as a descendant of Jupiter, Aeneas, and Julius Caesar, is the only suitable candidate for the imperial crown. Without insisting upon the historical importance of these poems, one can at least observe that they show—contrary to what has always been written, even quite recently—that the rumors which circulated as early as 1403 about the duke's plans were not at all groundless.⁴³ There is in fact much evidence proving that he was determined to succeed; his ambition very probably accounts for his murder in 1407.

Then I found a third political poem written by Ambrogio. It is not signed, but copied in his own hand in a Sallust manuscript which belonged to the two sons of Louis d'Orléans.⁴⁴ This short poem can be safely dated at the end of 1404. This time it is not Mercury but the Sibyl who addresses the young descendants of Aeneas. After reminding them of their glorious ancestry, she gives them some moral advice and prophesies a triumphant future for them:

Hinc et vos, domini, pariter regnabitis alti
Enseque victrici magnum lustrabitis orbem.

Of course, the poor Sibyl could not foresee what was to take place at Agincourt eleven years later. How could she guess that Charles would remain a prisoner in England for a quarter of a century? Indeed, for want of military glory, the gods bestowed poetic fame upon him. But the unfortunate Jean d'Angoulême, who remained in exile for thirty years, received neither.

Finding these poems had given me a desire to learn more about Ambrogio Migli, and especially to know what he had been doing in his native town before taking service with Louis d'Orléans. Naturally enough, I went to Milan and, during three weeks, I raked the libraries and archives. This led me to find several interesting manuscripts and texts, none of which bore the slightest relation to Am-

brogio. Not once did I see so much as a mention of his name. I gave up.

The next year I went to Prague, where I expected to find documents concerning Gerson's conflict with the Hussites during the Council of Constance. What I did find there was very different. It was a collection of short texts—what the Italians call a *zibaldone*—copied in the last years of the fourteenth century.⁴⁵ The script and decoration were typically Czech, but the contents were not: it was actually a copy of a manuscript written by a Milanese. The main part turned out to be a collection of letters exchanged by various members of the chancery of Giangaleazzo Visconti. Among them, about seven were written by Ambrogio Migli. Through these texts, of very average interest, he displays himself as a conscientious secretary, very keen on his professional work, and as a righteous man, especially concerned with the health and well being of his aged father.

These edifying letters are indeed in sharp contrast with the others, for most of those are strange love letters written by various senior and junior clerks of the Milanese chancery to one another. In one of them, for instance, a young man expresses the warmest gratitude to a certain "Dominus Fi." for having presented him with a splendid silk scarf embroidered with gold, the sight and touch of which pierce his marrow with voluptuous darts. I wonder if this "Dominus Fi." could have been Filippino Migli, a person of rank in that circle, who was probably a distant relative of Ambrogio's. Why, alas, should such sweet feelings be marred by jealousy? This sometimes raised storms of angry invective. For instance, one of the secretaries, having caught his beloved Luchino with another man, sent to his inconstant friend a letter full of moans and tears, in which he vented his hatred against his detested rival, a creature more horrid than a tiger, more poisonous than a hydra, and more loathsome than a wife ("coniuge fetidior"). Violent quarrels also blazed up among the wooers of the young and charming Astolfino Marinoni, the very person to whom, about the same date, Antonio Loschi, chancellor of Milan, dedicated his *Inquisitio artis in orationibus Ciceronis*.⁴⁶ There is little doubt that the scandalmonger who compiled this surprising *zibaldone* was our Ambrogio. But why exactly did he do it? And how could this booklet reach the banks of the Vltava within such a short time? It must have been a European bestseller!

JEAN DE MONTREUIL'S FIRST VISIT TO ITALY
AND PIERRE D'AILLY'S ZIBALDONE

The case of Ambrogio Migli was already a good example of an inquiry in which everything comes unexpectedly. But the next case involves such a succession of lucky coincidences that the reader would more readily believe me if I did not tell the truth, and pretended that I found the solution thanks to extraordinary insight.

Some eighteen years ago, I spent some time in the city library in Cambrai examining hundreds of manuscripts in order to reconstruct the rich collection of Pierre d'Ailly, who had been the bishop of Cambrai between 1396 and 1411, then a cardinal, and had died in 1420 after having written many works and having played a leading part in the political life of the period. I have now identified about one hundred manuscripts as having belonged to him, among which nearly one-half were entirely or partly copied by himself, for he was a keen and talented amateur scribe.

My attention was drawn to MS. n° 940, which is described by Auguste Molinier in his catalogue as the work of an Italian, probably from Bologna or Florence, living at the end of the fourteenth century. Considered as an object, this document struck me as most un-Italian: it is written in a typically French round cursive. Considered as a collection of texts, it could hardly be Italian, although it contains a majority of texts of Italian origin (e.g. letters of Coluccio Salutati), for it also contains several texts of French origin, especially toward the end.

Being in Cambrai, where a number of autographs of Pierre d'Ailly were to be found, I could easily make comparisons; I soon came to the conclusion that the whole manuscript was copied by him. But his signature appeared nowhere. Indeed, apart from an *ex-libris*, no autograph of the bishop of Cambrai had ever been identified at that date; therefore, a long and complicated demonstration would have been necessary.

From a historical point of view, this identification brought up a problem: if d'Ailly had personally collected these texts, how could I explain the long gap between the date of the latest Italian documents in the collection (1390) and that of the first visit the bishop made to Italy (1407)? Either he had been in Italy long before 1407, or he had

borrowed the texts from somebody who had collected them. In the latter case, who was that other person?

It was not in Cambrai, but some time later in Rome that I was to find the answers to these questions. First of all, it became easy to prove that Pierre d'Ailly was indeed the copyist of MS. Cambrai 940. Then, I found a clear explanation of the way in which he had procured the Italian texts.

MS. Vatican. Reginensis Lat. 689 is a large collection in two volumes composed of many documents of various dates and origins. Much to my surprise, I discovered in this *magma* twenty vellum leaves (Vatican. Reginensis Lat. 689A, ff.334–353) which were—at least, physically—the continuation of my MS. Cambrai 940. This discovery was the more unexpected since the Cambrai manuscript is apparently complete, and does not look at all as if part of it was missing. The table of contents lists 111 texts and 53 folios, of which 109 texts and 51 folios are still there; in a way, the manuscript is even overcomplete, since the two folios missing at the end were replaced by five folios, not numbered, also written by Pierre d'Ailly. In any case, this new manuscript was absolutely identical in its size, the quality of its vellum, and the identity of its scribe to Cambrai 940. What is more, the number at the top of the first folio was 54; which meant that, at the time when Pierre d'Ailly wrote the table of contents, this folio (probably still blank) immediately followed the last folios (now missing) described in the table.

A long demonstration was no longer necessary to prove that Cambrai 940 was written by d'Ailly, since the title at the top of the first page of the manuscript was: “Cedule diverse super materia scismatis, variis locis et temporibus edite a domino P. de Aillyaco, quondam episcopo Cameracensi, postea sancte Romane Ecclesie cardinali.” The wording of this title shows that it was written after the bishop of Cambrai had been made a cardinal, that is after 1411; and, therefore, almost twenty years later than the date of the copying of MS. Cambrai 940. This important chronological gap accounts for the difference between the script of the title and that of the text itself, which, at least on the first eight folios, is perfectly identical to that of Cambrai 940. The use of the third-person form (“a domino P. de Aillyaco”) does not contradict the identification, since Pierre d'Ailly often spoke of himself in the third person, and seldom forgot to mention

the full range of his titles. In any case, after some pages he adopts the first person: "Cedula facta in Janua anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo octavo, mense januarii, per me. P. episcopum Cameracensem."⁴⁷

The problem of the identification of the hand of MS. Cambrai 940 having been settled once and for all, the second question remained: where had Pierre d'Ailly found the texts—for the most part of Italian origin—which constitute the Cambrai collection? The solution was found in another manuscript of the collection of the queen of Sweden in Rome.

MS. Vatican. Reginensis Lat. 1653 is a thin volume of only thirty-six vellum leaves. At first sight, it does not look very interesting: the text proper is a mere abridgment of Guido Colonna's well known book the *Historia destructionis Troie*. It is copied in a handsome French book-cursive of the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The fly-leaves had been left blank at the beginning and at the end; they were filled in by the first owner of the book, who evidently was the same person as its scribe. He used them at various times for transcribing a series of letters or short texts, now neatly and carefully, now very hastily. The interest of the document appears when one has identified the person who wrote the colophon on fol.28^v: "Explicit contentus historie Troie per me J. de Monsterio taliter qualiter exaratus." The formula "taliter qualiter" is not especially beautiful; but the name "J. de Monsterio" is a little masterpiece of calligraphy, with its "J.," "D.," and "M." cleverly and gracefully twined round one another.⁴⁸ This peculiar signature immediately reminded me of one I had seen on some documents signed by the famous Jean de Montreuil, the man whom Georg Voigt defined as "the first real humanist in France." A brief comparison was enough to convince me that this "J. de Monsterio" and "Johannes de Monsterolio" were obviously one and the same person, although I am still unable to explain why he suddenly decided to change the name of his birthplace.⁴⁹

Jean de Montreuil and Pierre d'Ailly were the same age; they had studied together in the Collège de Navarre; and they remained friends, as is proved by several letters of Jean de Montreuil. We have, therefore, no reason to be surprised when we discover that every single one of the forty-five short texts or extracts copied by "J. de Monsterio" on the flyleaves of his *Contentus historie Troie* appears

absolutely identically, although in a different order, among the 111 texts of MS. Cambrai 940.

There still remained something important to account for. Admitting that Pierre d'Ailly had borrowed this book, and several similar ones, from his friend and had copied all the texts that were on the flyleaves, he had almost certainly done so before the end of the year 1394, since the latest text in the original collection is dated August 1394, and the first text of the continuation is dated February 1395 (new style). But how was this possible if, as it was believed, Jean de Montreuil had made his first trip to Italy not earlier than 1395? Was I to look for a third person, from whom Jean would have borrowed the texts he lent to Pierre d'Ailly? The aspect of the notes on the flyleaves made this assumption very unlikely. Much more probably, Jean de Montreuil had travelled to Italy a few years before.

As a matter of fact, one of Jean's letters contains a hint that could be interpreted as indicating such a journey. In his only letter to the chancellor of Florence, Coluccio Salutati (or, more exactly, the only letter that was known until recently), he wrote: "Ego autem ea que transmittes cum exquisitissimis meis ducam, inter que illa que pridem michi, dum cum recolende memorie domino Belvacensi degebam, misisti . . . obtinent principatum."⁵⁰ Jean de Montreuil's finical Latin requires some explanation. He asks Salutati to send him more copies of his letters; Jean will place them among his most treasured possessions, together with those the Florentine chancellor had already sent to him some time before ("pridem"), when Jean was in the company of the late bishop of Beauvais. This bishop of Beauvais was certainly Miles de Dormans, who was chancellor of France from October 1380 till 1382, and accompanied Enguerran de Coucy to Italy in May 1384 with a military expedition meant to reinforce the army of Louis d'Anjou.

As a matter of fact, the flyleaves of the *Contentus historie Troie* contain several letters addressed to Enguerran de Coucy or Miles de Dormans, including the letter sent to Enguerran by Coluccio Salutati on October 4, 1384, informing him with sham sadness of the death of the duke of Anjou.⁵¹

The texts that appear only in the Cambrai manuscript contain the final evidence that almost all the letters and texts copied by Pierre d'Ailly had been borrowed from Jean de Montreuil. According to

the table of contents compiled by Pierre d'Ailly, the author of three of the letters is supposed to be "a certain secretary of the King of France" or "a certain secretary." Could it be Jean de Montreuil? The title given by Pierre d'Ailly to the first one (n° 86) is "Quidam secretarius regis Francie alteri secretario imperatoris, recommendacio." This is a ridiculous title. To begin with, "alteri secretario" is a gallicism ("à un autre secrétaire"); and, in any case, "alteri" should have been changed into "cuidam" when Pierre d'Ailly added (with inaccurate precision) "imperatoris." Fortunately, the name of the addressee appears at the top of the text as "Domino Collucio." Coluccio Salutati was the chancellor of Florence; and, of course, not a secretary of the emperor.

This short letter starts with a preamble praising Coluccio, the admired prose-writer who took Cicero's muses as his own. Then comes a request: the writer entreats his correspondent to write back, and to irrigate with the dew of his rhetoric a spirit which is like the parched, barren ground. ". . . igitur, felicissime magister, de rore illo tue rethorice . . . hanc terram dira siccitate⁵² collisam, que sic iacens ullum fructum arida non producit, tuis elegantissimis epistolis placeat irrigare."⁵³ This image of the barren ground (which, by the way, is borrowed from one of the texts copied by Jean de Montreuil on the flyleaves of the *Contentus*) appears again in a letter written by Jean de Montreuil to Coluccio in 1395 or 1396, the only such letter that had been known: "Dignetur amicitia tua clara hunc famelicum et sitiundum scripcionibus suis [. . .] saciare, immo et aridam ac exsanguem penitus et exilem siccitatem meam ex diserie tue amne fecundissimo et uberrimo irrorare."⁵⁴ It would indeed be a strange coincidence if another secretary of the king of France had written to the same Coluccio some years before, also asking him to drench his dried-up spirit with the dew of eloquence! So sheer common sense compels us to admit that no one but Jean de Montreuil, alias de Monthureux-le-Sec, could possibly have written the letter to Coluccio contained in the Cambrai manuscript.

But a proof *per absurdum* is not quite satisfactory. After expressing his desire to meet the Florentine chancellor "face to face" (which seems to show that such an interview had not yet taken place), Jean begs him to excuse his audacity, and not to forget him; then he adds the date: "Scriptum in desolata Arcii civitate, XII novembris." This

adjective “desolata” is not purely rhetorical: the unhappy town of Arezzo had been sacked some time before by the troops of Carlo di Durazzo. It had been plundered once again and partly burnt down when stormed by Enguerran de Coucy on September 29, 1384. Then it had been besieged by the Florentines for a month. The daily sorties of the little Guelph troop which still held the fortalice added to its miseries.⁵⁵ In the meantime Charles d’Anjou had died; as soon as the artful chancellor of Florence had received the news, he wrote to Coucy to inform him (I have seen a copy of this letter on the fly-leaves of the *Contentus*). Naturally this news instilled in the French army a desire to go back home. Negotiations were started and, on November 5, a mutually profitable agreement was reached. The French left Arezzo about the middle of November.

Since, as he himself testified, Jean de Montreuil was in the company of the bishop of Beauvais at the time when he received the first texts sent to him by Coluccio Salutati, why should we be surprised to find him in Arezzo on November 12, 1384? The fact is that we now possess not only the poor letter written by Jean de Montreuil to Coluccio, but also the long and interesting answer sent by the chancellor to his young colleague. The latter was discovered by Professor Giuseppe Billanovich, and he and I jointly published the two texts.⁵⁶ Coluccio addressed the young Frenchman as “domino Johanni, cancellario domini Belvacensis,” which is a bit of an Italian overstatement.

We shall not dwell on the importance of this first correspondence, which certainly marks for memory a date in the history of French Humanism. But I must insist on the fact that the inquiry was entirely successful. It proved: 1) that it was actually Pierre d’Ailly who copied the Cambrai *zibaldone*; 2) that d’Ailly had borrowed the model from his friend Jean de Montreuil; and, 3) that the latter had travelled to Italy as early as 1384 and collected his texts there. All that information came unexpectedly.

* * *

From the point of view of intellectual and literary history, the various identifications we have briefly surveyed, and several others which could not be mentioned here, have led to the conclusion that many features considered characteristic of the Renaissance made their ap-

pearance in France much earlier than the dates which had hitherto been assigned to them.

This is already a good result, although much remains to be discovered. But it does not prove that the method is good.

Our discipline is lagging behind. Fumbling about and making shots in the dark may be quite amusing at times, and may even lead to important discoveries now and then; but it is definitely not a modern, scientific method; and it implies a terrible waste of time.

Since we all agree that intellectual history deserves to be considered part of science, not just some kind of interesting game like chess, then we must look for a solution, and try to make what I call a "strategy of research" in medieval manuscripts at last possible.⁵⁷

That is what some American friends and I are trying to do, and I have reason to believe that this country will soon be the first in the world where a much needed system of data processing and retrieval for medieval manuscripts will be experimented upon.

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NOTES

1. Richard de Bury, *Philobiblon*, trans. E. C. Thomas (Oxford, 1960; rpt. 1970), pp. 104 and 106.
2. This text, wrongly ascribed to Nicole Oresme, was rather incorrectly published by Du Boulay (Bulaeus) in his *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1665-73), IV, 396-412.
3. *Senilium liber*, IX, 1.
4. Gilbert Ouy, "Le Collège de Navarre, berceau de l'Humanisme français," *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques, Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610*, 1 (1975), 276-299.
5. Ouy, "Une lettre de jeunesse de Jean Gerson," *Romania*, 80 (1959), 461-472.
6. Ouy, "La Plus ancienne œuvre retrouvée de Jean Gerson: le brouillon inachevé d'un traité contre Juan de Monzón," *Romania*, 83 (1962), 433-492.
7. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1889-97), III, xxviii-xxxvii and no. 1557, pp. 487-489.
8. Ouy, "La Preuve par les textes de l'authenticité gersonienne du traité contre Juan de Monzón," *Romania*, 88 (1967), 270-273.
9. Ouy, "La Plus ancienne œuvre," p. 480.

10. Ibid., p. 478.
11. Ibid., p. 487.
12. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860; rpt. ed. M. Kaegi, Bern, 1943).
13. Garin, *Medioevo e rinascimento, studi e ricerche* (Bari, 1954), p. 204 (translation mine).
14. Ouy, "La Plus ancienne œuvre," p. 472.
15. Ibid.
16. Jean Gerson, *La Montagne de contemplation*, MS. Paris B.N. Fr. 24839, f.230.
17. Jean de Montreuil, *Opera*, vol. II, *L'Œuvre historique et polémique*, critical ed. by N. Grévy-Pons, E. Ornato, and G. Ouy (Turin, 1975).
18. Ouy, "La Plus ancienne œuvre," p. 473.
19. Ibid., p. 474.
20. Ibid., p. 475.
21. Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, v, ed. P. Glorieux (Tournai, 1963), 108.
22. Dupont-Ferrier, "Jean d'Orléans, comte d'Angoulême, d'après sa bibliothèque," *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, III (Paris, 1897), 39-88.
23. Elisabeth Pellegrin, *Manuscripts de Pétrarque dans les bibliothèques de France* (Padua, 1966), p. 30.
24. Ouy, "La 'Deploratio super civitatem aut regionem que gladium evaginavit super se': Gerson est-il l'auteur de ce texte anonyme sur les massacres de juin 1418 à Paris?" *Miscellanea André Combes*, II (Rome, 1967), 351-387.
25. Francesco Petrarca, *Il Bucolicum carmen*, ed. Antonio Avena (Padua, 1906).
26. *Opere latine minori*, ed. A. F. Massera (Bari, 1928).
27. Cecchetti, "Un'egloga inedita di Nicolas de Clamanges," *Miscellanea di studi e ricerche sul Quattrocento francese* (Turin, 1967), pp. 25-57.
28. Ibid., pp. 55-57.
29. Cf. Franco Simone, *La coscienza della rinascita negli umanisti francesi* (Rome, 1949).
30. Albert C. Clark, *The Vetus Cluniacensis of Poggio*, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Oxford, 1905).
31. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, Vol. II, *Nuove ricerche* (Florence, 1914), p. 74.
32. Ibid., Vol. I (Florence, 1905), p. 81, n. 44.
33. MS. Paris B.N. Lat. 14752.
34. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome, 1960).
35. MS. Reims, B.M. 628.
36. MS. Montpellier, B.U. H.87.
37. Alfred Coville, *Recherches sur quelques écrivains du XIV^e et du XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1935), p. 252; and Gontier et Pierre Col et l'humanisme en France au temps de Charles VI (Paris, 1934), pp. 232-233. See also Ouy, "Le Thème du 'Taedium scriptorum gentilium' chez les humanistes, particulièrement en France au début du XV^e siècle," *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des Etudes françaises*, no. 23 (May 1971), pp. 9-26.

38. Martène and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum amplissima collectio* (Paris, 1724–33), Vol. II, cols. 1456–1459 (MS. Tours, B.M. 978, ff.61^v–63^v). I have identified another copy in MS. 4710, ff.309^v–310^v of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.
39. Jean de Montreuil, *Opera*, Vol. I, parte prima, *Epistolario*, ed. Ezio Ornato (Turin, 1963), no. 106, p. 156.
40. Pierre Champion, *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris, 1910), p. 5 and n. 2.
41. MS. Paris B.N. Lat. 7371, ff.124^r and 123^v.
42. MS. Paris B.N. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 1793, f.211^r–211^v.
43. Cf. Ouy, "Humanisme et propagande politique en France au début du XVe siècle: Ambrogio Migli et les ambitions impériales de Louis d'Orléans," *Culture et politique en France à l'époque de l'humanisme et de la renaissance*, Atti del convegno internazionale promosso dall'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino in collaborazione con la Fondazione Giorgio Cini di Venezia (Turin, 1974), pp. 13–42.
44. MS. Paris B.N. Lat. 9684, f. 35^r–35^v.
45. MS. Praha Kapit. K. xxxvii. I am preparing an edition of these texts for *Italia medioevale e umanistica*.
46. Cf. Sabbadini, *Nuove ricerche*, p. 123 and n. 8.
47. MS. Vatican. Regin. Lat. 689A, f.341^v. I have had all these documents reproduced in facsimile: Ouy, *Le Recueil épistolaire autographe de Pierre d'Ailly et les notes d'Italie de Jean de Montreuil* (*Umbrae codicum occidentalium*, Vol. IX, Amsterdam, 1966).
48. This signature and the signature "J. de Monsterolio" are reproduced on the last page of the facsimile.
49. Locating Jean de Montreuil's birthplace was a small problem which had puzzled scholars for almost a century. It was solved quite recently and unexpectedly when I noticed that same artistic monogram "JDM" on the signature of the copyist "J. de Monsterio Sicco" who had compiled a small collection of texts by Petrarch in the last quarter of the fourteenth century (MS. Paris B.N. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 967). While there are many French towns or villages called Montreuil, Montier, and so on, only one can correspond to Monsterium Siccum; it is now called Monthureux-le-Sec, and is located in the department of Vosges, near Vittel. Since this village was far outside the borders of the kingdom, one might wonder how a subject of the emperor could have studied at the Collège de Navarre and have become a secretary at the royal chancery. But, as a matter of fact, Monthureux-le-Sec did not belong to the Empire. With two other neighboring villages, it formed a small enclave of French territory belonging to the county of Champagne. The students of the Collège de Navarre were normally selected from boys born in Champagne.
50. Jean de Montreuil, *Opera*, I, epist. 107, pp. 160–161.
51. This letter was published by Paul Durrieu, *La Prise d'Arezzo (1384) par Enguerand VII, sire de Coucy* (Paris, 1880), pp. 19–24, not from our MS. but directly from the register in the archives of Florence.
52. This word *siccitas* and the image of the parched ground were originally borrowed by Jean de Montreuil from an anonymous Italian *Deploratio* which he

copied at Arezzo in 1384; but the fact that he used them time and again in his letters might perhaps be explained by a sort of pun on the name of his native village, Monsterium or Monsterellum Siccum. One finds many such jokes in his correspondence and generally in the texts of the period.

53. Giuseppe Billanovich and Gilbert Ouy, "La Première correspondance échangée entre Jean de Montreuil et Coluccio Salutati," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 7 (1964), 360.
54. Jean de Montreuil, *Opera*, I, epist. 107, p. 161.
55. Cf. Durrieu, op. cit.
56. Billanovich and Ouy, op. cit., pp. 337-374.
57. Cf. Ouy, "Comment rendre les manuscrits médiévaux accessibles aux chercheurs," *Codicologica: Towards a Science of the Hand-produced Book*, Vol. 4 (Amsterdam, 1978), pp. 13-60.

In its original form, this essay was delivered at the Van Pelt Library as two lectures in July 1976, as part of the Summer Institute in Basic Disciplines for Medieval Studies, sponsored by the University and funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Baron von Steuben and His University of Pennsylvania Connections

FRANCIS JAMES DALLETT*

THE papers of Major General Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben during his "American period"—December, 1777 through November, 1794—are being collected and edited at the University of Pennsylvania under the joint auspices of the University and of Morgan State University and the sponsorship of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.

This scholarly project, which focuses on one of the most significant military figures in American history, received its impetus during the Bicentennial year of 1976. It is housed in an office adjacent to the Rare Book Department of the University Library.

Here, co-editors Dr. Edith von Zemenszky and Dr. Morgan Pritchett, and assistant editor Dr. Robert J. Schulmann, are bringing together copies of all known Steuben correspondence and other personal documents and collecting all mentions in orderly books, journals and military records of many kinds of the first incumbent Inspector General of the American Armies. Transcription, translation and collation will be followed by publication, initially in a microfilm edition.

Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin, Baron von Steuben, was born in Magdeburg, Prussia in 1730 and was successively a military staff officer in the armies of Prussia, France and Baden before his introduction by Benjamin Franklin, founder of the University of Pennsylvania, to George Washington, whom Steuben joined at Valley Forge in 1778.¹

Undertaking the training of the Continental Army, Steuben prepared in the winter of 1778-1779 his *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, which became the military bible of the Continental Army. A distinguished veteran of the Virginia campaign and commander of one of the besieging divisions at Yorktown, Steuben was active in planning for national defense after

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the war. His effective transformation of the raw American troops into a disciplined military force was a service of incalculable value to the nation of which he became a citizen in 1783. General Baron von Steuben died at Steuben in Oneida County, New York, in 1794.

Several of the foreign-born heroes who rendered aid to the American cause in the War of the Revolution were recipients of academic honors from the University of Pennsylvania. The English-born propagandist Thomas Paine, who was awarded the honorary master of arts degree in 1780, was the first of these. French diplomat François Barbé-Marbois, the Chevalier (later Marquis) de Chastellux, Major General of the French forces in America, member of the French Academy and friend of Voltaire, and three medical officers, Coste, Borgella and Robilliard, were honored at a special ceremony in 1782 when the two former allies received the institution's first doctorates of laws, the junior officers lesser degrees.² Earlier the same year, at the regular commencement exercises, French-born Peter Stephen Du Ponceau, captain in the American army, received an honorary master of arts degree. Finally, in 1787, General the Marquis de Lafayette became a doctor of laws of the "University of the State of Pennsylvania."

Although General von Steuben did not become an honorary son of Pennsylvania, he did take part in a University ceremony of the epoch, the commencement of 1782, and his family was subsequently linked by marriage to another family with significant ties to the University.

The introduction to the account of the 1782 commencement exercises printed in *The Freeman's Journal* of March 27 provides a satisfactory picture of the colorful session adorned by the presence of the German military tactician who found himself in distinguished company for the convocation.³

On Thursday, the 21st inst. a commencement was held in the hall of the university of this city, before a very crowded and polite audience, consisting of the honourable members of the supreme executive council of this state, the members of the assembly, his excellency general Washington, and his family, with the family of his excellency the French minister, the Baron Stuben [sic], and a large concourse of the most respectable citizens.

The important visitors, who centered, certainly, about the ven-

erated first family of the new nation, sat through a long program enlivened by band music in the large brick College Hall in Fourth Street above Arch. Nine of the candidates for degrees took part variously in a Latin salutatory, a debate, and five separate orations, one of the latter considering "the benefit of the alliance between America and France." Honors were conferred upon sixteen bachelors of arts, eight bachelors of medicine, three honorary masters of arts, and three doctors of divinity. A valedictory oration and the "charge" of the Provost, the Reverend Dr. John Ewing, concluded the program.

General von Steuben had close associations with all of his fellow guests and, in fact, with numerous members of the University community. At the beginning of the preceding winter he had come to live in Philadelphia where he was welcomed as a hero of Yorktown. On January 2, 1782, he was elected a member of the German Society of Philadelphia⁴ joining on its roll three men who served both as University faculty members and trustees, the Reverend Messrs. Kunze, Helmuth, and Muhlenberg as well as a distinguished alumnus, Brigadier General Muhlenberg, Steuben's comrade-in-arms and correspondent. Another Philadelphia correspondent who was both honorary alumnus and ex officio trustee of the University was the Honorable Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council of the state.⁵

Steuben wrote to a friend in Germany describing his reception in Philadelphia. He had received, he said, deputations from the government, the municipality, the University, and the "Academy of Sciences."⁶ Although incomplete University records mention no academic gesture of respect, Steuben had received the accolade of the "scientists" of the city months before his move by his election to membership in the American Philosophical Society on January 21, 1780.⁷ That session had also brought into the Society the French minister, Anne-César, Chevalier de La Luzerne, Barbé-Marbois and George Washington, all of them Steuben's fellow guests at the commencement of 1782.⁸

That day in College Hall, General von Steuben, whose services and whose compensation were subjects of constant interest in the Continental Congress, certainly recognized several of the men who took degrees. Joseph Borden McKean, A.B., was the son of Thomas McKean, Signer of the Declaration of Independence and lately Presi-

dent of the Congress, whom Steuben met at Yorktown. The Reverend William White, honored with a degree in divinity, was chaplain to the Congress and the leading churchman in Philadelphia; three years later he would become the first Episcopal bishop of Pennsylvania. James Craik, junior, one of the recipients of the bachelor of medicine degree, was the son of the chief physician to the Continental Army, General Washington's personal doctor, who had been at Valley Forge with Steuben.

Most familiar of all to the Baron, and certainly the real reason for his presence at the commencement, was Peter Stephen Du Ponceau.⁹ This young Frenchman, on the threshold of a gifted career as lawyer and philologist in Philadelphia, had come to America with Steuben, whom he served at Valley Forge as secretary, interpreter, and aide-de-camp and who had secured for him a captaincy in the Continental Army. Instrumental in helping Steuben to draft the *Regulations*, Du Ponceau had been close to Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben during his first five years in the New World. Retired from military service, Du Ponceau became secretary in Philadelphia first to the Secretary of the Board of War, and then to Robert L. Livingston, Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The former official was the admiralty lawyer, and congressman, Judge Richard Peters the younger, of Belmont, then General von Steuben's most intimate American friend and advisor. Peters, a 1761 graduate of the College of Philadelphia, predecessor of the University, was the namesake nephew of one of the institution's first trustees, an office he himself later held.¹⁰ The judge, with whom Steuben corresponded in French, handled the Baron's business affairs in Philadelphia and his service claims with Congress.¹¹ Peter Stephen Du Ponceau, recipient of the honorary A.M. at the 1782 commencement, had thus been in the employ of both Steuben and Peters.

It seems strange that it was not the prestigious General von Steuben but his young French aide who received academic honors on this occasion. Gratitude for the French alliance and pro-French sentiment probably had much to do with it; but the bilingual Du Ponceau, charming and urbane and now an American citizen, was, in his own words, "in full membership with society" in Philadelphia. The "good Baron," as yet able to understand but little English, was frequently ignored in conversations with his peers who preferred to

converse directly with interpreter Du Ponceau. This delicate situation, which put Du Ponceau directly in touch with leading national figures, was an irritation to his superior.¹²

Moreover, General von Steuben lacked interest in academic distinctions. He is reported to have derided the conferral of an honorary doctorate on Lafayette "by a New England college," considering it derogatory to the military character of a soldier to be dubbed "Doctor." On the other hand, he allowed himself to be elected one of the regents of the University of the State of New York in 1787.¹³

On the day following the commencement, General von Steuben concluded his stay in Philadelphia; both he and Washington left the city to proceed by separate routes to Fishkill and Newburgh. He returned, however, for the winter season of 1782-1783, when he occupied a house which he called Bellisarius Hall, near the Peters's at Belmont, and again for the winter months of 1783-1784 when he lived at Solitude, the Penn family house which still stands in the grounds of the Philadelphia Zoological Society.¹⁴ During the latter sojourn, he attended on December 26, 1783, the annual meeting of the German Society at which he expressed his pride in membership and thanked the Society for the honor it had paid him.¹⁵

Some of General von Steuben's Philadelphia friends and acquaintances must have had him in mind when, in 1798, four years after his death in upstate New York, news reached the city of an interesting Christmas Eve marriage in Easton, Pennsylvania. The bride was Susanna Bingham, widow of Philadelphia merchant James Bingham, the groom one Peter Martin von Steuben, M.D.¹⁶

The bride of the unknown man who bore such a notable and familiar name had buried her first husband in St. Peter's Churchyard, Philadelphia, on February 5th of the same year, and had entrusted her financial affairs to the hands of her husband's relative, the Reverend Robert Blackwell.¹⁷ Blackwell was a University trustee; the late James Bingham was a son of Pennsylvania. He had been enrolled from 1756 to 1763 in the Academy of Philadelphia, preparatory department of the College and University, and his two younger brothers, John and William, had also studied in the Academy.¹⁸ William Bingham had gone on to graduate from the College (A.B. 1768, A.M. 1771). He served in the Continental Congress, was a founder and a director of the Bank of North America, a merchant shipowner and

the proprietor of vast undeveloped timber lands and fisheries in the province of Maine.¹⁹ Mrs. Susanna von Steuben's erstwhile brother-in-law was also master of the most elegant private house in the city and husband of Philadelphia's most spectacular hostess. In 1795 he had been elected a United States Senator from Pennsylvania. More important, as far as the University was concerned, William Bingham served on its board of trustees from 1789 until his death in 1804.

The man whom James Bingham's young widow chose for her second husband was presumably the son of Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben's first cousin.²⁰ Dr. Peter Martin von Steuben, born in Copenhagen, had settled first on the island of Tortola in the West Indies, whence he had recently come, a widower, to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.²¹ Dr. von Steuben practiced medicine quietly and successfully in Bethlehem and Easton. Although he lived in the shadow of a famous relative and never achieved fame himself, it was his son by the Penn-connected widow Bingham who was the progenitor of the line which perpetuated the name of Baron von Steuben in the United States.

NOTES

1. The only significant biography of Steuben is John McAuley Palmer, *General von Steuben* (New Haven, 1937). See also *Dictionary of American Biography*.
2. Minutes of the Trustees of the University of the State of Pennsylvania, December 23, 1782, III, 143. The names of the two principal degree recipients authorized by mandamus of that date, invariably misspelled in printed catalogues and lists issued by the University of Pennsylvania ever since, are here rendered correctly. The juniors were Jean François Coste and Marie Bernard Borgella (not, as often rendered, Maria Bernardus Borgetta), both omitted entirely in Persifor Frazer, ed., *University of Pennsylvania, Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of the College . . . 1749-1893* (Philadelphia, 1894); and Fiacre Maximilien Robilliard who appears therein as "Pierre Robillard." Frazer, p. 520. The same source, p. 12, dates the Rev. William White's degree as of 1783, an error. Subsequent alumni catalogues have perpetuated inaccuracies in Frazer.
3. *The Freeman's Journal*, Philadelphia, issue of Wednesday, March 27, 1782, p. 3. The article was printed virtually verbatim in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of March 27 and *Pennsylvania Packet* of March 30.
4. The original certificate of membership in the Deutsche Gesellschaft zu Philadelphia in Pennsylvania is in the manuscript collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Steuben is not listed in the roll of members in Oswald Seidensticker, *Erster Teil der Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien* (Philadelphia, 1917) but the fact of his membership is noted on p. 235.

5. John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg was graduated in the Class of 1763 of the College of Philadelphia. Joseph Reed was awarded a master of arts degree in 1766, served as trustee ex officio 1779–1781 and as elected trustee 1782–1785. The Reverend John Christopher Kunze, trustee ex officio 1779–1780 and Professor of German and Hebrew 1780–1784, was succeeded in both offices by the Reverend Justus Christian Henry Helmuth; both men received honorary degrees of A.M. and D.D. from the institution. Frazer, pp. xxi, 11, 518, 519. Under Helmuth's direction, the University program from 1782 to 1790 included a German preparatory school, taught entirely in that language. Kunze was teaching at Columbia when, on January 3, 1785, he and other members of the German Society of New York elected Steuben to their organization. American Antiquarian Society, U.S. Revolution Collection, Box 8, Folder 8, Minutes of the first quarterly meeting of the German Society of New York. Steuben served as president of the Society as he did for the Society of the Cincinnati in the state of New York.
6. Palmer, p. 297.
7. The lost original proceedings of the meeting, at which Thomas Jefferson was also among those elected, have been reconstructed from newspaper accounts. Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, iv (Princeton, 1951), 545.
8. Washington, like the other two members of the trio, previously mentioned, received the LL.D. from Pennsylvania, in 1783. Frazer, p. 520. Details appear in Francis James Dallett, *Documents in the History of the University of Pennsylvania 1749–1975* (portfolio), leaflet, p. 2. Steuben was already well acquainted with La Luzerne for whom he acted as escort upon the letter's arrival in Boston in 1779. Palmer, p. 215.
9. *Dictionary of American Biography*. "The Autobiography of Peter Stephen Du Ponceau," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 63, (1939), 189–227, 311–343, 432–461; 64, (1940), 97–120, 243–269. Du Ponceau served as trustee of the University of Pennsylvania from 1818 to 1836. By coincidence, he was related to Paul Fooks, Penn's first professor of French and Spanish, 1766–1779.
10. *Dictionary of American Biography*. Peters later served with distinction as Judge of the United States District Court for Pennsylvania. He was from 1789 to 1791 a trustee of the University which gave him an LL.D. in 1827. Frazer, p. 7.
11. Palmer, pp. 197, 206, 286–287.
12. Du Ponceau, "Autobiography," *PMHB*, 63, (1939), 460.
13. Palmer, pp. 216, 346, 399.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 307. Steuben correspondence places him in Philadelphia the second winter.
15. Seidensticker, p. 235.
16. The date and other details are given in the deposition of December 24, 1858 of Susanna von Steuben, of Northampton County, Pa., Manuscript Collections, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The former Susanna Schimer or Shimer (1776–1863), daughter of a well-to-do German-American farmer of Redington, Northampton County, Pa., was twenty-eight years younger than her first husband, James Bingham (1748–1798) and evidently twelve years younger than

her second, Peter Martin von Steuben (1764?–1814). *History of Northampton County, Pennsylvania* (New York, 1920), 3, 454 et seq. *Lineage Book of the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the American Revolution* (1955), p. 544. The latter gives Dr. von Steuben's date of birth as November 17, 1746 but the year is evidently 1764 as his tombstone states he was aged 50 at death. A manuscript genealogy by Peter Martin's great granddaughter, Mina Louisa von Steuben, in the Oneida Historical Society at Utica, N.Y., gives yet a third year, 1748, as his birthdate. The Bingham-von Steuben marriage was discovered by Lewis D. Cook, F.A.S.G., B.S., of the University of Pennsylvania, 1919, and additional details by the contributor.

17. Lewis D. Cook, "Bingham of County Essex, England; of Burlington County, New Jersey, and of Philadelphia," unpublished manuscript. Blackwell, rector of St. Peter's Church, was married to Bingham's sister.
18. Blackwell held office as a trustee from 1789 to 1822. Tuition payments for the Bingham brothers are recorded in Book of Accounts Belonging to the Academy in Philadelphia 1751–1757 (MSS. UPH.1-U.a.4) and College and Academy Tuition Book 1757–1769 (MSS. UPH.1-U.a.7), University Archives.
19. Frazer, pp. 14–15. *Dictionary of American Biography*. The standard biography of Bingham is Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage: the Life and Times of William Bingham 1752–1804* (Boston, 1969).
20. Although the 1858 deposition of Peter Martin von Steuben's widow states that he was the son of Baron von Steuben's brother, the manuscript of Mina Louisa von Steuben states the relationship differently and probably more accurately. Peter Martin von Steuben's father, named by Miss von Steuben as August Ludwig von Steuben (1701–1765), druggist of Copenhagen, was very likely a son of Baron von Steuben's uncle, Christian Ludwig von Steuben, a colonel in the Danish service, but the 1701 birthdate must be an error for 1711, 1721, or 1731 as Christian Ludwig himself was born in 1688. Palmer, pp. 17, 20. It should be noted that no evidence has been found of any personal association between Baron von Steuben and the Pennsylvania von Steubens. Steuben's American biographer corrects the aristocratic male lineage of the family, deliberately falsified by the Baron's grandfather and father, which had been printed in Karl Theodor Zingeler, "Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde in Hohenzollern* (Sigmaringen, 1903).
21. Copenhagen is given as his birthplace on his gravestone in the Easton German Reformed Churchyard. *The Old Graveyards of Northampton County, Pennsylvania*, 1, part 2, 33. It is so stated, with details of his parentage, in Mina Louisa von Steuben's record. Lewis D. Cook notes that Peter M. von Steuben is listed as a private in the Fourth Company, Second Battalion of Philadelphia Militia in 1787. *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th Series, III, 1036. This must refer to an early temporary sojourn in this country and was during the lifetime of the Baron who, however, did not mention him in his will. Dr. von Steuben was living on Tortola in 1797 when his six year old daughter, Eleanora, was entered at the Moravian Seminary in Bethlehem. William C. Reichel, *A History of the . . . Bethlehem Female Seminary* (Philadelphia, 1858), p. 419.

William Morris's *What all men long for and what none shall have*: Restorations and Reconsiderations

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN FISHER IV*

I

IT is now commonplace to remark how diligently J. W. Mackail and May Morris handled the life of William Morris by means of copious whitewash. Both friend and daughter were supreme evaders of the truth about Janey Morris's and D. G. Rossetti's feelings toward each other and the consequent impact of that love upon Morris himself. Pages of verse collected by May, along with her introductions, lead unsuspecting readers to believe that much of this writing dates vaguely from "the *Earthly Paradise* period," with only cursory remarks about Morris's inspirations. One brief lyric, *What all men long for and what none shall have*, exists in manuscript among the papers in the Troxell collection of Pre-Raphaeliteana at Princeton. This poem reveals not just something of the emotional scourging Morris endured (and the poetical outpourings that resulted during the time his wife's attraction to Rossetti waxed strongest), but it also points up what must have been May's deliberate attempt to throw dust into the eyes of potentially too attentive readers.¹ Although thirty years passed between Morris's death and the publication of the poem, May tampered with her father's text, unless another exists that I have not discovered. To show in some measure how inaccurately produced the published version is, as well as to note its significant features, I publish below the Troxell version, with bibliographical and critical commentary.²

II

What all men long for and what none shall have

Bare is the world and waste and wide
Where many an evil doth betide
And men have lived and men have died

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Mingling their love with pride and rage
Their foolish joy with fear and age:

What thing shall save? Be strong & brave,
How better shall [than *cancelled*] it crush thy cage?

A little space of fruitless ruth,
Of acted lies and spoken truth,
Of gainless eld and restless youth,
Of love well trusted turned to shame;
And then the change we may not name;

The change the end, And thou dost wend
Unto the dark whence all things came.

Go, cry aloud, 'A little rest
Before the end, is all the best.'
How [*terminal s cancelled*] shall thou gain it and be blessed
With aught of joy, e'en for a space?

ℓ Harden thine eyes, make smooth thy face!
Wear the mask still, Lie down with ill!
Rest wearily from hope and praise

Is it enough, forgetfulness
That may forget the sharp distress,
But not that it forgetteth bliss?
The words a shame that once we spake
ℓ For love and truth & honour's sake
The worst well known, All longing flown [*cast adown cancelled*]
But longing that our hearts might ache
(over)

Lo the world's rest, lo the world's choice!
Mad longing for forbidden joys,
Or babbling over hated toys
Beneath the scorn, beneath the smile
Of thine own fall grown wise and vile.

No hope no God, No way untrod,
No curse, no blessing to beguile.

Choose, choose the best, the pain, but pray,
If thou hast breath to cast away
For somewhat of a better day;
A rest with something good to gain
More than dead love and wasted pain;

Ay bitterly, To draw anigh
One heart at least, and cry in vain.

III

The manuscript consists of a single sheet of blue laid paper, lined, measuring 12½ x 8 inches, watermarked "J. Allen & Sons / Super-fine / 1869." The writing, on both sides, is in black ink, which on the first side has faded in the last line, as if the lowermost portion of the paper had been exposed for a lengthy period to the sun. The creases indicate that at one time the sheet was folded in half vertically, then again horizontally. Three long, horizontal creases reveal yet another folding, as if the sheet were intended for mailing in a legal envelope. Numbers 1 and 2 appear on the appropriate sides. I can locate no record as to how this manuscript entered the Troxell Collection.

IV

Readily apparent in a comparison of the manuscript and published versions are differences in capitalization, punctuation, and spelling. Why did May Morris capitalize all words in the title (and omit the italics), when her father had clearly ordered otherwise, as well as placing commas after ll. 8 and 26 (which last she also encloses within single quotation marks) and a colon after l. 33? To borrow from Swinburne, these touchups are "sprucification"; like the early editor of Emily Dickinson's verse, May Morris could not allow her father's haste, as revealed in his inconsistent punctuation and erratic procedures in spacing margins, to show too overtly to the reader. I suggest, furthermore, that she altered "and" to the ampersand form, which Morris had used only once, to give the published text a more "medieval" or "antique" appearance and thus to make the turbulence within the poem seem distant from instead of current in her father's life. With his devotion to medieval subjects well known, she might calculate such a device to imply an archaism in *What all men long for and what none shall have*. The italicizing in the title disappears, doubtless, because this change lessens the intensity implicit in the original. Altogether, May probably proceeded in this fashion to cement yet another stone into the wall of respectability that she and Mackail tried to create around Morris's image.

A precise date of composition cannot be determined, but informed speculation suggests late 1869 or early 1870, the time when the full

force of the Janey-Rossetti situation hit Morris. The manuscript gives evidence of the easy speed in composition so heartily touted by the poet. Few cancellations are here, and the writing is legible, although not so carefully wrought as it would soon become because of Morris's discipline in illuminating, book decoration emerging as another of his many talents.³ The cancelled "s" in l. 17 also implies rapid composition; the next word is "shall," and Morris must have been so caught up with his work that his pen temporarily outran rational control. Indeed the entire manuscript suggests a rapid poetical outburst during severe mental upheaval. That is, the content results from passionate emotional throes, the form from disciplined—though not perfect—craftsmanship.

That Morris intended publication himself is apparent because of the "(over)" at the lower right-hand corner of side one and the lines drawn to the left of ll. 19 and 26, to regularize the margins, which are marks for a printer. Why he did not print the poem we may only guess, but, as with that above, the guessing may not be unsound. *What all men long for and what none shall have* is far more grim in its import than many other poems from this period; hence the Morris of the familiar external bluntness, he who tried also to be the exemplary Victorian family man, may not have wished to place before the public a *cri de coeur* like this. May Morris did hint after her father's death: "People always say that [he] was one of the happiest of men in his work; but who can know for sure? The long silent nights of writing must represent some struggle in the depths—not all pure enjoyment—the labour out of which the work comes to light."⁴

What all men long for and what none shall have resembles a monologue, with a speaker and an implied audience, but the identity of the "other" is obscure. The speaker may address the person, formerly beloved, who has caused his grief. Then, too, he may be meditating upon the circumstances of his dead love, and the "thou" may be part of his own psychic being—creating in effect an Arnoldian dialogue of the mind with itself. In either case, a feeling that his acquaintance generally perceived in his conduct toward women and, more particularly, toward the Janey-Rossetti relationship, is not what prevails here. There is none of the indifference about this poem that his contemporaries noticed in him.⁵ Instead, fearful outpourings greet whoever is the listener! The stanzaic structuring mirrors the uncer-

tainty amidst anguish coursing through the speaker's thoughts as he seems to waver about the nature of his regard for the faithless beloved. Each one contains a form of interrogation followed by some sort of resolution, which mounts to the utter loss voiced in the closing lines.

The opening line is nearly Swinburnean in its introducing a vague, yet psychologically precise world for the poem entire. The speaker's upset and confusion as to future events are excellently characterized as his thoughts wander immediately from the fairly concrete visuality connoted by "Bare" to the less tangible "waste and wide" that capture an almost primitive sense of desolation and its pervasiveness inherent in the tormented outburst. The concluding rhyme also prepares for the "died" in l. 3, whence continues a mingling of love and death implications until the end of the poem. Considering that Morris was not yet forty when he penned these lines, the reference to age and "gainless eld" may strike us as unintentional irony resulting from his feeling the experience of many years' emotions within a short period, although such phraseology may also result from his habitual stance of premature aging.⁶

From the title to the final line, *What all men long for and what none shall have* expresses desire, and that mental quality accounts for the scantiness of sharp visual imagery throughout. Such feelings may cloud both the body's eye and the mind's eye, but the result accurately depicts the whirling sensations customary to those with tempests in the mind. This is not one of those decorative excursions of the Pre-Raphaelite era in Morris's career, and the want of colorful visual imagery reinforces the elemental feelings stirred because of the great shock in confronting lost love. As such it could not easily appear among those works that Morris published, with greater equanimity, during his life. With a stanzaic pattern akin to many parts of *The Earthly Paradise* (another factor that helps to place it in the 1869–1870 period), this poem goes beyond yet resembles, for example, the struggles of Walter and his involvement with the Hill of Venus, dropping the pretense that exists there and using no foreign locale to divert the reader.⁷

Returning momentarily to some tangibility (and to a degree of mental clarity?) in the concluding lines of stanza 1, the speaker moves, figuratively, from the restricting "cage" on through the "little

space," which is not solely corporeal spatiality, toward the "dark"—the fitting destination for one so overwrought that he can not articulate love's antonym. The simplicity of the language may deflect from the movement, which seems to run centrifugally, so subtly constructed through successive lines. Temporary respite through forgetfulness does not suffice in this instance, and the heartache again comes to dominate, stressed in an emphatic closing note. Perhaps Morris did not publish this poem because, as is evident in the last line, both poet and poem are fruitless in their interrelated cries. After the hopelessness caused by lost love, what can cheer? As in *The Earthly Paradise*, we might well read as a summation of *What all men long for and what none shall have*: "I have beheld him tremble oft enough. . . . Thou, keen-eyed, reading me, mayst read him through. . . ."⁸ The Victorian ideal of maintaining a veneering of closemouthed respectability about domestic troubles like thwarted love, hinted in ll. 19–21, 29–33, is subsumed by overpowering, if vain, desire.

The impact of shame and the scorn related to it also recall the small likelihood of Morris's betraying knowledge of Janey's moving from him toward Rossetti, particularly if he realized that (a) she had never loved him in the first place; (b) that his longtime friend Rossetti had initially fostered the Morris marriage primarily to keep Janey nearby; or (c) that his own inability to love resulted from a conception of love as mainly a storybook existence—the sort that is evident in so many of his own verses. That Morris was aware of others' knowledge about his situation, even if he seemed outwardly untrammelled about it, is apparent in stanza 4, where the marriage service echoes mockingly. The wasteland world, external and, more importantly, psychic, in *What all men long for and what none shall have* is akin to those poetic worlds in the works published by Ellison and DeLaura. Certain others in May Morris's publication reveal a similarity in theme and imagery, although none is so despairing as these three. Morris's Christmas 1870 inscription in a copy of *The Earthly Paradise* highlights the more sombre aspects of love limned in that work, and closes: "Life is a waste and windless Sea."⁹ This is very much like certain passages in the long, unpublished works. The conclusion of *The Earthly Paradise*, too, discloses Morris's turning to poetry for relief from other concerns in his life: "And never did he fail to let me see / His love,—his folly and faithlessness, maybe; /

And still in turn I gave him voice to pray / Such prayers as cling about an empty day."¹⁰ Not surprisingly, in *What all men long for and what none shall have*, as in his better-known works, Morris sings about an empty day, although the revelations in the shorter poem diminish the simulated casualness of the "idle singer" in the larger poem. This singer is actually not at all idle, as the great spate of verse from this time reveals, and the emptiness of the day about which he sings is far different from what a cursory reader might suppose. If dual sides of the poet's nature war, as this short poem suggests they do, the hopeful part—which could pray—is pushed aside by the one who chimes in with the soul-withering conclusion: "Ay bitterly, To draw anigh / One heart at least, and cry in vain." The constant sense of longing, hammered home again and again as that very word recurs in *What all men long for and what none shall have*, avails not; indeed, it only worsens the speaker's pangs. That hopelessness may produce the intensity reflected in the italicizing of the title; the speaker is eager, pathetically so at times, for love, that glorious capstone to every human's life. Such a conflict is mirrored in the manuscript, which reveals a rapid, if changeful, imaginative creativity in process. The cancellation in l. 21, emphasizing as it does the keynote of longing, harks back to the "long for" in the title. Dominating all others as it does here, this quality may account for both cancellation and the hyperbolic feature in the title. Love has departed, and with it has gone any sign of a cheerful world of promise. Unlike those other, greater poems resulting from blighted love, *Modern Love* and *The House of Life*, there is no elegiac note in Morris's poem. That would come only after more time had passed, when he produced *Love is Enough*, in which love is once more idealized.

NOTES

1. The poem first appeared in May Morris, *William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist* (Oxford, 1936), I, 539–540, along with other selections from "the *Earthly Paradise* period," adding to those items from the same era already published in *The Collected Works of William Morris* (hereafter *CW*), ed. May Morris (London, 1910–1915), IX (including those poems Morris himself printed in magazines and *Poems by the Way* [1891]) and xxiv. Recent studies by R. C. Ellison

- and David J. DeLaura, respectively in *English*, 15 (1964–1965), 100–102; and *MP*, 62 (1964–1965), 340–341, publish poems concerning the Morris–Janey–Rossetti triangle. R. Flower, “The William Morris Manuscripts,” *BMQ*, 14 (1939–1940), 8–12, mentions nothing that would suggest a variant text for “What all men long for.” Parts of the poem are quoted by Oswald Doughty in *A Victorian Romantic: Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London, 1949; rev. 1960), pp. 461–462, to support his theories about Rossetti’s love for Mrs. Morris and its impact upon her husband. After the publication of his book, a controversy involving Doughty, Sydney Cockerell, and Philip Henderson ran in *TLS* (June–October, 1951). Additional information about the Morris’s blighted love appears in Helen Rossetti Angeli, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Friends and Enemies* (London, 1949), esp. chaps. x and xxi; Oscar Maurer, “William Morris and *Laxdæla Saga*,” *TSL*, 5 (1963–1964), 422–437; and Philip Henderson, *William Morris: His Life, Work, and Friends* (New York, 1967), chaps. v–vi.
2. The poem is published here through the courtesy of Princeton University and the Society of Antiquaries, London, holders of Morris copyrights. I am particularly grateful to Robert S. Fraser, former Curator of Rare Books at Princeton’s Firestone Library, for directing me to this manuscript.
 3. *CW*, ix.xx. Mackail remarks that this same period “coincides with what might be called the final extinction of Rossetti’s influence over him as an artist, and the gradual loosening which followed of the closer intimacy between them, though for several years more they still saw much of each other. . . .” He continues to reveal as much as he had hoped to conceal when, speaking of Morris’s review of Rossetti’s *Poems* (1870), he tells us: “Morris, with other friends, had been dragged into the business; and his article bears all the traces of a task, for once, executed against his will.” See *The Life of William Morris* (London, 1899; repr. New York, 1968), I, 200–201, 209.
 4. *CW*, xxiv.x.
 5. Henderson, *William Morris*, quoting Luke Ionides, p. 151.
 6. Robert D. McLeod, *Morris Without Mackail* (Glasgow, 1954), p. 8.
 7. Mackail, *The Life of William Morris*, circumspectly states: “In the verses that frame the stories of ‘The Earthly Paradise’ there is an autobiography so delicate and so outspoken that it must needs be left to speak for itself. . . .” (I, 210). The biographer, perhaps disingenuously, neglects to mention the autobiographical relevance of such tales as “The Hill of Venus.”
 8. *CW*, vi, 332.
 9. *Ibid.*, xxiv, 344.
 10. *Ibid.*, vi, 332.

Dreiser and American Magazines of the 1890's

YOSHINOBU HAKUTANI*

I

THE published criticism of Theodore Dreiser's work has dealt almost exclusively with his novels. His nonfictional writings are seldom commented on, partly because his novels are artistically far more important than his other writing, and partly because his nonfictional work is not readily available in modern editions. But scholars have long known that between his resignation from the editorship of *Ev'ry Month* in September 1897 and the publication of his first novel *Sister Carrie* in November 1900 Dreiser wrote more than 120 pieces which appeared in various magazines. We also know that a few of his articles were reprinted in the early decades of this century. In recent decades almost none of these articles have been re-published, nor have they ever been collected and published as a unit.

It is time to read this massive body of writing, which casts considerable light not only upon Dreiser the novelist, but more importantly, upon the 1890's, an exciting era in the development of American civilization. As a cultural historian of sorts, and more significantly as a young man who was to become a major American writer of the new century, Dreiser made thoughtful judgments on the status of the arts in America—painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and literature. Moreover, his interest was diverse, his vision wide, and he could not fail to encompass the entire spectrum in viewing what was happening in the American 1890's. The late nineties, in which his free-lance writing concentrated, was in fact an important turning point in American history. Witness the booming economy—shortly after the worst depression the nation had experienced, the advancement of technology and industry, the dissemination of new ideas in science and philosophy. In response to these changes in the lives of the American people, Dreiser wrote most of his magazine articles on the spectacle of contemporary society. He became sometimes a dis-

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passionate chronicler of technology and agriculture; at other times he dramatized the delights and tribulations of people individually as well as collectively. All in all, the result is a rare, remarkably coherent piece of Americana seen through the eyes of one man.

The first three of these free-lance articles—other than those published in the newspapers and *Ev'ry Month* in 1892–97—appeared in the November 1897 issues of the magazines. A great majority of them were published in 1898–1900, during which period he often wrote at a rate of an article a week. According to Dorothy Dudley Harvey, Dreiser's first biographer, "One day it occurred to him that he was wasting his time 'fixing up other fellows' articles.' Why not market his own? He could see that magazine readers were asking for lively stories about real people and things. They would take him nearer to his heart's desire—to write about life as he saw it. Or at least it seemed to him that such articles would in a literal sense be true, while the fiction of the day must be false in every sense."¹

Most critics who have commented on Dreiser's magazine work in the nineties agree that he was a hack-writer.² He wrote a great number of pieces, mostly articles, in a short period of time. But this experience is important in Dreiser's development as a writer. The range of his subject matter was diverse: he wrote poems, essays, sketches, and short stories. He recorded interviews with famous writers, painters, musicians, financiers, inventors, educators; he wrote about the poor and the wretched; he discussed agriculture and mechanics. The dream of success was one of his dominant themes in these essays, but at the same time the problems and fears stemming from America's urban life at the end of the century often occupied his mind. His optimism can be detected in oft-repeated affirmations of progress, but hesitancy and doubt are also reflected in many of his writings. In short, Dreiser's experience as a magazine writer greatly assisted the future novelist; the scope and depth of his thinking during these years formed an indispensable part of his work as an American realist.

If he had tried to publish these articles a decade earlier, he would have experienced some difficulty. At the beginning of the 1890's the most prestigious magazines were few: *The Century*, *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, and *The Atlantic*. Most of them cost thirty-five cents a copy or more, and they catered to the elite. Towards the end of the century, however, there were all kinds of changes in American life. Thus,

there was a great demand among general readers for new knowledge in art, music, science, technology, and life in general. Many magazines, including *McClure's*, *Munsey's*, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, and *The Saturday Evening Post*, responded to this cry for fresh reading matter. These magazines were sold at lower prices (in July 1895, the *Cosmopolitan* and *Munsey's* were ten cents a copy) and attracted a wider audience. At the turn of the century, the ten-centers had 85 percent of the total magazine circulation in America. In the first decade of the new century there were twenty such magazines, and the total circulation was over 5.5 million.³ Most of Dreiser's free-lance contributions appeared in such popular and low-priced monthlies.

This upsurge of periodical writing was a significant phenomenon of American culture. The rise of realism after the Civil War had been intimately related to the popularity of the elite magazines. Once these magazines were undercut by competition, their editors began to direct their efforts towards the general reading public. Before the nineties, magazines like *The Century* and *Harper's* were out of touch with the world of real human interest. In 1894 Hamlin Garland recognized the importance of the New York-based magazines:

New York to-day claims to be, and is, the literary centre of America. Boston artists one by one go to New York. Literary men find their market growing there, and dying out in Boston. They find quicker and warmer appreciation in New York, and the critical atmosphere more hospitable. The present receives a larger share of attention than in Boston. Henceforward New York, and not Boston, is to be the greatest dictator of American literature. New York already assumes to be able to make or break a novelist or playwright. Certainly it is the centre of magazine production; and the magazine is, on the whole, the greatest outlet for distinctive American art.⁴

Garland's point about the magazine's having been the vehicle for "distinctive American art" implies that before this time the taste of American readers had been greatly influenced by the widely circulated British magazines. The distinctive American qualities in literature were what the readers looked for and what the writers were eager to supply. Walter Besant, writing in the London *Author*, noted the "great success" of the American periodicals, which he observed were more popular in London than their English rivals.⁵ William Archer, a Scottish critic and playwright, also remarked on this liter-

ary phenomenon. Praising the American magazines' "extraordinarily vital and stimulating quality," he wrote: "There is nothing quite like them in the literature of the world—no periodicals which combine such width of popular appeal with such seriousness of aim and thoroughness of workmanship."⁶

What made the magazines that found vitality attractive to their readers? The answer cannot be found in the copious and lively illustrations the magazines carried or the fresh cosmopolitan outlook they provided. The elite magazines in the previous decades had also offered variety in subject matter and kept up with major world events. But these elite magazines failed to come down to the level of the readers and share the excitements and tribulations of their daily living. Comparing such a magazine as *The Century* with the "newcomers," George Horace Lorimer, who took over *The Saturday Evening Post* in 1899, realized that the magazine must respond to the public's interest in business and romanticize it. Lorimer argued that the common men in the streets would buy these magazines and the women would follow. A magazine like *The Century*, Lorimer thought, failed to keep in mind that those who read it worked.⁷

Dreiser appeared on the scene at an opportune time and, as a reporter or an author of fiction, would never fail to keep Lorimer's advice in mind. Although he recognized in his later career how helpless and meaningless man's struggle for existence was, he did not lose his sensitivity to the dream and power that accompanied that struggle. Dreiser's capacity for compassion, so often discussed in connection with his novels, is equally obvious in his early periodical writings. Recalling the material in the magazines and newspapers in the nineties, Dreiser said: "The saccharine strength of the sentiment and mush which we could gulp down at that time, and still can and do to this day, is to me beyond belief. And I was one of those who did the gulping; indeed I was one of the worst."⁸ Dreiser was deliberately attempting to conform to the journalistic style of the nineties. Even though he looked back on his magazine writing with some contempt, that writing clearly reflected the decade's ideas and sentiments—the significance of which Dreiser himself then scarcely noticed. Moreover, his pedestrian prose style was an indication of his lifelong commitment to deal with common problems in the most common way possible.

Among his magazine articles, by far the largest part, about thirty items, dealt with art and artists. His interest in the visual arts was demonstrated in his own works—*The Financier* (1912), *A Traveler at Forty* (1913), *The "Genius"* (1915), *A Hoosier Holiday* (1916), *Twelve Men* (1918), *The Color of a Great City* (1923), and *A Gallery of Women* (1929). In these works one is struck by Dreiser's intimate and often professional knowledge of the subject. Small wonder that his acquaintance with art was first made while he was a free-lance writer in the late nineties. In the early nineties, however, Dreiser had a greater interest in drama than in art. As a struggling newspaper reporter, his ambition was to become a playwright. In those days, drama criticism occupied a prominent place in the newspaper, and his interest was naturally developed in that direction. Once he had established himself as a magazine editor and contributor, he could not help noticing the readers' attraction to the colorful illustrations in the popular magazines. Also the art of engraving was making a change in the conduct of monthly magazines. The contents of many periodicals, too, reflected a growing sentiment for the aesthetic in general. After the industrial development of the new nation, its citizens looked for their spiritual satisfaction in art. Such men as William Vanderbilt and John Pierpont Morgan were celebrated not only as successful financiers but also as passionate art lovers with huge collections of paintings.

Despite his enthusiasm for the visual arts, Dreiser was by no means an expert in the field. In the beginning his writings about painting and sculpture betrayed superficiality and showed at best a layman's unabashed wonder at the vague notion of the beautiful. As he cultivated his taste and accumulated experience by visiting studios and making the acquaintance of artists, Dreiser became more confident in his commentary. Late in 1897 he was already a member of the Salmagundi, the most prestigious artists' club in New York. Through such affiliations, he was requested by the painter J. Scott Hartley to compile an album of the work of George Inness, Hartley's father-in-law.⁹

In dealing with artists, Dreiser was always trying to elicit a theory of art to which he was congenial. Initially, he was anxious to resolve

the artist's dilemma of reconciling poetry with that newly born child of the times—realism. In "Art Work of Irving R. Wiles," he made a sweeping indictment of realism: "A painter who must needs take a striking situation from every-day life and paint in all details as they would probably be found in real life, is, in a way, photographic and not artistic."¹⁰ Dreiser agreed with Wiles's "art for art's sake" doctrines; realizing that each of the painter's works was based on "a prosaic enough reality" (*Metropolitan*, 7 [April 1898], 359), Dreiser concluded that the artist's sense of beauty came not from reality itself but from the artist's imagination. This concept was also expressed in another article published at the same time. After venturing an analogy with the "idealist" school of Watts and Rossetti, Dreiser wondered how both the ideal and the real could coexist in the work of Benjamin Eggleston, a portrait painter from Minnesota well known around the turn of the century. "Perhaps it would be better to say," Dreiser wrote, "that he has the gift of imparting to subjects realistically treated the poetry of his own nature, thus lifting them far above the level of 'faithful transcripts' of nature and life."¹¹

Many of his articles about the artists during this period were also concerned with what was to become a major theme in his own work: the relationship of man to nature. Dreiser was convinced earlier in his career that the artist's obligation was to portray man in his natural state. This duty, of course, often clashed with convention, as his novels show. In commenting on the artists, Dreiser praised and respected those who shunned convention. Homer C. Davenport, a well known caricaturist of the time, was like Dreiser a product of the West. Davenport succeeded, in Dreiser's opinion, in satirizing the pretence, dishonesty, and unnaturalness of a refined society. "One would suspect," Dreiser observed, "that he would draw roughly, for like all Westerners he has no taste for luxury, and rather pities those creatures who are so refined and re-refined that they lack vitality enough to digest a plain meal."¹² Later in a survey of various artists Dreiser was appalled by their blatant hypocrisy: they often formed an exclusive community for themselves by severing themselves from nature as well as from society itself.¹³

In criticizing such "anemic" and fragile artists, Dreiser pleaded for the artist's liberation from the indoor life as Whitman did in his poetry. Dreiser's fondness for the strength and roughness of nature

underlay many of his remarks on painting and sculpture. After tracing the inspirations of C. C. Curran, an Ohio painter, to those of the French painter Dagnan-Bouveret, Dreiser compared Curran's painting to Robert Louis Stevenson's poetry. Curran's picture with glimpses of children digging in the earth, sailing boats, and playing on the greensward awakened such a responsive mood that he quoted lines from Stevenson's "Child's Garden of Verses":

I called the little pool a sea;
The little hills were big to me,
For I am very small.
I made a boat, I made a town,
I searched the caverns up and down
And named them one and all.¹⁴

Even as late as 1899, when he first attempted to write fiction, Dreiser was intensely curious about nature's effects on man. Lawrence E. Earle's work, Dreiser noted, abounded with aged, weather-beaten figures which suggested "the wear and nature of the various callings from which they are selected." Every time Dreiser looked at one of Earle's paintings, he was reminded of Thoreau's description of "the old, quiet fisherman in his worn brown coat, who was so regularly to be found in a shady nook at a certain bend in the Concord River." Earle's figure, like Thoreau's, became part of the soil and landscape like the stumps and bushes. Those garments the man in the picture wears, in Dreiser's words, "are queer baked products of sun and rain; quaint, pleasant old creatures, selected by a feeling mind. In a way, they seem to illustrate how subtle are the ways of nature; how well she coats her aged lovers with her own autumnal hue."¹⁵

A more direct study of man in the natural state, Dreiser wrote, could be accomplished artistically in the nude as a genre. Discussing the works of Fernando Miranda, a Spanish-born sculptor, Dreiser quoted Miranda's defense of the human form in its natural beauty as "God's greatest work." Dreiser despised those who disliked nudes; with approval he repeated Miranda's comment that they were "misled by narrow conceptions of what is noble and good in the universe."¹⁶ In such remarks, he hastened to point out the misguided concept of the viewer who was tempted to seek only the prurient from the nude. According to Dreiser, clothes distorted and concealed

the beauty of form. The success of Frederick W. MacMonnies's masterpiece, "Bacchante and Child," was therefore due to the sculptor's momentary capture of the pose upon one foot. The sculptor's motive, Dreiser suggested, "has plainly been to represent the beauty of a sudden and spontaneous movement, and not to glorify either inebriety or wantonness."¹⁷

These magazine contributions seldom gave a sign of the pessimism that, from time to time, marked his own fictional writings. This might well have been due to the "success story" pattern Dreiser was asked to follow by the magazines. In this connection one must recall his disposition of mind during the editorial days. The columns he wrote in *Ev'ry Month* show that he was a disciple of Herbert Spencer and most notably that he interpreted the Spencerian cycle of existence as progress for man. Nothing since then seemed to have altered his view, and he readily applied the theory to the artist's mission in life. Dreiser's faith in man's worth remained unshaken for a long time, as evidenced by the statement he made in 1909 as editor of *The Delineator*. His policy was to accept only those contributions tinged with idealism and optimism and, in the case of a story, with a "truly uplifting character."¹⁸ In a brief sketch of Bruce Crane, who was then recognized as a leading successor to the famous landscape artist George Inness, Dreiser praised Crane's work not because it adhered to nature but because it displayed a joyous and hopeful atmosphere.¹⁹ In "E. Percy Moran and His Work," too, he cited Moran's view of an artist's function as "to make it [life] better, handsomer, more pleasing."²⁰ In surveying the gifted young portrait painters of the day, he came to this conclusion: "Intellectually, they are men of broad minds, and look upon art with clean, wholesome spirits."²¹

What he learned from these artists was not merely the attitude or personality of a true artist. It was the technique of delineating how man delighted in a modern city and yet, when luck turned against him, was baffled by the complexity, impersonality, and loneliness which the city presented. Alfred Stieglitz, a contemporary artist-photographer, became one of the men who provided Dreiser with such technique and vision. In an essay on Stieglitz, Dreiser explained with detail how such well known pictures as "A Rainy Day in Fifth Avenue" and "The L in a Storm" had been produced. Interestingly enough, Stieglitz was the first photographer to perfect the techniques

of night pictures.²² Stieglitz, Dreiser learned, would stand for hours at night in order to capture photographic impressions of some of the glittering night scenes in New York. Although Dreiser says that the famous "Winter on Fifth Avenue" was called "a lucky hit," he adds: "The driving sleet and the uncomfortable atmosphere issued out of the picture with uncomfortable persuasion. It had the tone of reality. But *lucky hit* followed *lucky hit*, until finally the accusation would explain no more, and then *talent* was substituted."²³

By far the most influential artist for Dreiser in these years was William Louis Sonntag, Jr. The inspiration Dreiser received from him was so personal that Dreiser wrote a poem about him—and published it as an obituary in *Collier's Weekly* in 1898—when Sonntag, like Stephen Crane and Frank Norris, died an early death. Years later Dreiser's short biography of Sonntag, "The Color of Today," became one of the chapters in *Twelve Men* under the anonymous title "W. L. S."²⁴ That sense of insecurity and loneliness Carrie and Hurstwood experience in Chicago and New York, Dreiser tells us, was born in his newspaper experiences. But his actual portrayal of the scenes in the novel could not have been accomplished without the ideas of Sonntag.

However, Dreiser's acquaintance with this artist—which goes back to his editorial days with *Ev'ry Month* in the winter of 1895—was rather superficial. At that time Dreiser, looking for striking illustrations of city life for the Christmas issue of his magazine, paid him a visit at his studio. Dreiser had earlier been attracted to him not only by reputation but by his colored drawings depicting night scenes of New York that appeared in one of the great Sunday papers. The pictures, in Dreiser's recollection, "represented the spectacular scenes which the citizen and the stranger most delight in—Madison Square in a drizzle; the Bowery lighted by a thousand lamps and crowded with 'L' and surface cars; Sixth Avenue looking north from Fourteenth Street" (*Harper's Weekly*, 45 [1901], 1272). What struck his eyes, unlike Stieglitz's photography, was Sonntag's use of color. Good coloring, as Dreiser often maintained, was above all the first element of a successful painting after idea, form, or purpose.²⁵ What was to become Dreiser's own use of color in describing the urban scenes—street lights, carriages, department stores, restaurants, luxurious garments—was acquired through his apprenticeship under

Sonntag. On one drizzly autumn night Sonntag took Dreiser to this scene on their way to the theater while, Dreiser recalled, they were in the midst of a serious discussion of art and life:

He took me to a point where, by the intersection of the lines of the converging streets, one could not only see Greeley Square, but a large part of Herald Square, with its huge theatrical sign of fire and its measure of store lights and lamps of vehicles. It was, of course, an inspiring scene. The broad, converging walks were alive with people. A perfect jam of vehicles marked the spot where the horse and cable cars intersected. Overhead was the elevated station, its lights augmented every few minutes by long trains of brightly lighted cars filled with truly metropolitan crowds.

"Do you see the quality of that? Look at the blend of the lights and shadows in there under the L."

I looked and gazed in silent admiration.

"See, right here before us—that pool of water there—do you get that? Now, that isn't silver-colored, as it's usually represented. It's a prism. Don't you see the hundred points of light?"

I acknowledged the variety of color, which I had scarcely observed before.

"You may think one would skip that in viewing a great scene, but the artist mustn't. He must get that all, whether you notice or not. It gives feeling, even when you don't see it." (*Harper's Weekly*, 45 [1901], 1273)

This is evidence that Dreiser was indebted to a practicing artist of the day and, more importantly, indicates how strongly Dreiser committed himself to capture an incisive vision of the contemporary scene. Furthermore, what fascinated him at this time was the artist's amazing versatility. Not only was Sonntag well versed in fiction, drama, music, history, and politics, but he surprised Dreiser by revealing the fact that he was an engineer (competent to handle marine, railroad, and other machinery), architect, mathematician, and philosopher. Dreiser was intimately drawn to Sonntag's unique talents and experiences; in fact, Dreiser himself was thus conscientiously pursuing his apprenticeship not only as a critic in art and literature but also during this period as a journalist who addressed himself to facts and ideas in science, technology, agriculture, commerce, politics, and many other fields of human interest. The intensity and width of vision Dreiser achieved as a commentator on art and artists was to have a pervasive effect on his own writing as a novelist.

While Dreiser vigorously pursued art criticism in these years, at times with immature haste, he did not deal with literary criticism with equal enthusiasm. It is common knowledge that he was incidentally a literary critic during his entire career. Interestingly, however, he was always conscious of his fellow writers and quite sensitive to their remarks on his own writing. As his numerous letters well indicate, Dreiser took his critics seriously. Many of his periodical writings in the nineties thus contained his views on men of letters in the past as well as in the present. In his interviews with successful men in various walks of life, he was of course curious as to how one would achieve eminence in the literary profession. Sometimes he violently disagreed with a theory of literature he came across. Later in his career Dreiser often confessed his aversion to many of his contemporaries because he felt that their works did not square with life as he himself experienced it. Such a distaste for much American writing may have been part of the reason for his relative silence about his fellow writers during his free-lance period. But, whenever he found an attitude or personality he felt an affinity with, he never failed to applaud it. Despite the fewer number of articles he wrote on this subject, he seems to have been testing his hand as critic in these years for a long literary career he was to make for himself later.

His first attempt came with a nostalgic description of Tarrytown with its world-renowned Sleepy Hollow where rose Washington Irving's tombstone. Dreiser's interest was not so much in the famous storyteller and the legend that surrounded him as in the modern history of the region, particularly the Dutch settlement, and the feeling and color of this locale. In spite of his usual excitement over modern technology, Dreiser was vocal in his criticism of such an "incongruous trick" as the arc lights with their unseemly glare that had invaded the Hollow road.²⁶ His homage to the American past came to a climax with a long article on Hawthorne.²⁷ As in his article on the Sleepy Hollow, this biographical sketch of the haunting romancer opens with reference to the undesirable effects of the modern era on the town of Salem—the railroad, electric light, and trolley that "glared upon and outraged its ancient ways" (*Truth*, 17 [Sept. 21, 1898], 7). Similar in kind to this sketch is a detailed account of Wil-

liam Cullen Bryant which appeared in *Munsey's* in the following year.²⁸ The thrust of Dreiser's commentary was given to Bryant's courageous activities as journalist and poet during his last thirty-five years in the Long Island town of Roslyn. Dreiser astutely observed that although it was an old settlement with high "hopes and pretensions" years earlier, it had "faltered and lagged in the race of modern progress" (*Munsey's*, 21 [1899], 240). His fondness for the poet is clearly shown by his frequent quotations of Bryant's poetry in this article and elsewhere. Dreiser admired him for "a deep seated, rugged Americanism, wholly unconventionalized by his success in the world" (*ibid.*, 245). Dreiser could have felt that Bryant's often quoted lines from "To a Waterfowl"—"Lone wandering, but not lost"—could be applied to his own disappointments and hopes as journalist and future writer. To him, Bryant was "intrepid, persistent, full of the love of justice, and rich in human sympathies," a simple statement of what were to become his own qualities as a novelist (*ibid.*, 244).

All of these literary essays contained the two leading and inseparable themes of his free-lance work: disillusionment with city life and longing for the beauty of nature. When he turned to contemporary authors, he searched for some transcendental reality beyond material appearances. He was thus surprised and at the same time gratified to discover that the commercial environment of Wall Street made no mark in Edmund Clarence Stedman's creative work.²⁹ Another poet, largely forgotten today, was Bayard Taylor, whose work and career provided Dreiser with quiet reflections and warm sentiments.³⁰ Unlike Stedman, Taylor was born on a farm and struggled for existence in his early years. Much like Dreiser himself, Taylor was a self-made man, having left his native place in youth and built up a literary career in the city. Taylor, Dreiser learned, was not a financially successful man. The most significant point of this tribute comes towards the end where Dreiser, foreshadowing his own characteristic turn of thought, portrayed the old poet, who "drew out his rocking chair in the evening, and swayed to and fro as the light faded and sights and sounds gave place to the breath of night and the stars." Dreiser infuses the scene with an Emersonian, mystic quality which one frequently finds later in the novels: "The pale moonlight flooded all the ground, the leaves gained voices from the wind, and over them all

brooded the poetic mind, wondering, awed, and yearning" (*Munsey's*, 18 [1898], 601).

Dreiser was more impressed by a mystic poet of an older generation like Taylor than by a contemporary analytical critic who, Dreiser felt, often smacked of egotism. This is why when he encountered an influential British critic, Israel Zangwill, he became most indignant in his attack on the man and his philosophy.³¹ Zangwill's critical tenets, Dreiser believed, were not entirely original, and Dreiser was readily prepared to make such a pronouncement for his American audience. Zangwill's rule was not to criticize a book for not being some other book, and yet his first criterion was that a book must be worth criticizing. What irritated Dreiser was a dogmatism that underlay Zangwill's standard of judgment. "All that remains," Zangwill said, "is to classify it. It is of such and such period, such and such a school, such and such merit." Dreiser realized that, in Zangwill's criticism, judgment necessarily preceded classification and analysis. In any event, Dreiser argued that what was lacking in such criticism was the heart of a critic:

It is the great analytical spirit, useful no doubt, but the world loves an enthusiast better, who criticizes not at all, but seizes upon the first thing to his hands and toils kindly, if blindly, in the thought that his is the great and necessary labor. Certainly such a life bespeaks a greater soul, if keen sympathies make soul, then [sic] does that of the man who can sit off and eternally pass judgment, unmoved forever to ally himself heart and hand with any one great effort for the uplifting of humanity. (*Ainslee's*, 2 [Nov. 1898], 355-356)

Another eminent critic Dreiser met was William Dean Howells, "the Dean of American Letters," as he called him.³² Before the interview Dreiser had read *My Literary Passions* and now found his image of the great novelist confirmed. He found Howells "one of the noblemen of literature"—honest, sincere, and generous. Such laudatory remarks sound incongruous today since it has become legend that the two men never liked each other. We know from what Dreiser said later that Howells's novels failed to give him a sense of American life. He thus confided to one critic: "Yes, I know his books are pewky and damn-fool enough, but he did one fine piece of work, *Their Wedding Journey*, not a sentimental passage in it, quarrels from be-

ginning to end, just the way it would be, don't you know, really beautiful and true" (*Dreiser and the Land of the Free*, p. 143). On numerous occasions Dreiser revealed to his friends that *Their Wedding Journey* was the only thing of Howells that he liked,³³ but he did admire Howells for championing young talents. In *Ev'ry Month*, and again in *Ainslee's*, Dreiser called Howells a "literary Columbus" for discovering Stephen Crane and Abraham Cahan. Howells's support for Hamlin Garland and Frank Norris is well known, but Howells was blind to *Sister Carrie* and he never tried to appreciate Dreiser the rest of his life.

IV

In the period immediately preceding the publication of *Sister Carrie*, the lives of various artists and writers most strongly captured Dreiser's interest, and at times he envied them. He was always fascinated by their unique concept of beauty and their sympathetic treatment of life itself. Dreiser was convinced more than ever of the inseparable ties between art and human life. One of the dominant subjects in his magazine writing was, therefore, American life as he saw it. And one common theme Dreiser was consciously developing was American progress.

This theme scarcely sounded humanistic at that time, nor does it today; it was a journalist's attempt at providing the public with information on technology as it affected the urban scene. Disillusionment with new science and distrust of progress were not uncommon reactions in many quarters of American intellectual life. But Dreiser in the late nineties was undoubtedly an optimist; he had earlier interpreted the Spencerian law of existence as inevitable progress for mankind. "The world," he had earlier quoted another journal as declaring, "is not going downward to ruin. . . . Everything in this splendid country has an upward trend, despite the wail of the cynics."³⁴ As the editor of a new national magazine Dreiser thus urged his readers: "We will be concerned with making things good, and with living so that things shall be better . . . there will be naught but hope, unfaltering trust and peace" (*Ev'ry Month*, 3, No. 2 [Nov. 1, 1896], 7). Later as a free lance, Dreiser discussed, for example, the impact which the recent development of "motor carriages" made on transportation in the city. Using specific details and designs in the

manner of an engineering journal, Dreiser demonstrated how electricity had been converted to motor power. He even projected the invention of motor cars, as he called them, which would be operated by gasoline engines in the near future. After spelling out the enormous economic gains such development would generate for the country, he concluded the article with what must seem to many modern readers a false prediction: "The saving of time, the added comfort and the improved health which would result from the system can hardly be overestimated."³⁵

Interestingly enough, the introduction of motorcars in American life must have given such a compassionate man as Dreiser a sense of relief because watching clattering horses in the streets was "itself too often an object of real and piteous interest" (*Demorest's*, 35 [May 1899], 154). As a naturalist in the vein of John Burroughs, Dreiser could hardly promote the cause of man's happiness on earth without due consideration for the welfare of other creatures. This is perhaps why Dreiser was curious about the intelligence and efficacy of pigeons as they were utilized for secret communications. But at the same time he expressed his idiosyncratic concern for them as he concluded his essay with a quotation from Bryant's "To a Waterfowl."³⁶ His expression of sympathy was extended not only to animals but also plants. Discussing the importance of studying plant roots scientifically, Dreiser illustrated how a microscope could trace down their "infinitesimal . . . threads as light as gossamer, almost—they did not naturally end." "In that unseen part," he interjected, "there was a friendly union between the life of the plant and the life of the earth, and the latter had given some of itself to course up the hair-like root and become a part of the plant."³⁷ On the basis of new research on the relationship of weeds to the soil, Dreiser even pleaded for the preservation of some weeds: "There are weeds that are soil renewers, weeds that are food for man and beast, and weeds without which thousands of acres of our most fertile lands would be wastes to-day."³⁸

Such sensitive treatments of plant and animal life in the light of human progress were characteristic of Dreiser the philosopher. But as a historian Dreiser paid far more attention to the various technological innovations being made in the American 1890's. Thus, the development of transportation in the urban and rural areas became a focal point of his argument for progress. In "The Railroad and the

People: a New Educational Policy Now Operating in the West," his purpose was to correct the term "soulless corporation" often used to describe the nature of the largest commercial organization then existing in the United States.³⁹ The railroads were usually described, Dreiser said, as "dark, sinister, dishonest associations which robbed the people 'right and left,' . . . and gave nothing in return" (*Harper's Monthly*, 100 [1900], 479). But like Shelgrim, the railroad president in Norris's *The Octopus*, Dreiser put forward an argument in favor of the railroads' "cordial and sympathetic relationship with their public" and, with meticulous details, illustrated how both would benefit under such an enterprise. Dreiser's view of capitalism in this instance is evenhanded. "For if the public has had nothing save greed and rapacity to expect of its railroads," he went on, "the sight of the latter adopting a reasonable business policy, whereby they seek to educate and make prosperous the public in order that they in turn may be prosperous, is one which, if not inspiring, is at least optimistic" (*ibid.*).⁴⁰ A sense of optimism could even be detected in his account of manufacturing small arms. The evil connected with weapons moved him to despair, but his explanation of this sinister enterprise became a curious rationalization: ". . . the motive is to make implements wherewith to compel peace."⁴¹

The jubilant mood in which he dealt with the events of the day seemed to have touched almost all his writings in this period. In explaining how battleships were built, he even failed to reflect on the baleful purposes for which technology might be used; instead he dramatized the majesty of the ships and the ingenuity involved in constructing them. As for road construction, Dreiser contrasted the enterprise to that of Imperial Rome, which thrived on slavery. American roads came into being, Dreiser emphasized, "with awakening reason and sympathy in all the hearts of men"; true greatness lay in the fact that they were built by the people and for the people. "Unlike the magnificent public structure of the empires long since departed," he asserted, "they will neither conceal squalor nor want, nor yet a race of whip-driven Helots, but rather bespeak a nation of free-men and beauty lovers—men strong in the devotion and enjoyment of good."⁴² Whether Dreiser was describing how the Chicago drainage canal was completed, how trains were manufactured in the Midwest, how pilot boats were operated in New York harbor, how trol-

leys ran between New York and Boston, or how the subway was laid in New York City—in these spectacles, Dreiser's vision of progress always dramatized the excitement of the people involved.⁴³

In reporting America's industrial development, Dreiser suspected that there were some people who built their personal fortunes in the name of progress for all men. Earlier, when he was a newspaperman, Dreiser observed successful men like Andrew Carnegie and Joseph Pulitzer, but he was somehow compelled to be reticent about their private conduct, which he could not admire. Now as a free lance he was able to write about them as he pleased. Consequently, through his magazine work, Dreiser became acquainted with Dr. Orison Swett Marden, founder and editor of *Success*, the first issue of which appeared in December 1897. Trusting Dreiser's abilities to brighten up the contemporary scene, Marden engaged his services to interview successful men in business, industry, science, art, and literature. Although Marden's format for these articles does not seem to have restricted Dreiser's ideas on the subject, his writing nevertheless lacked the sensitive approach that marked his best essays. Indeed, the traditional success stories that dramatized the rags-to-riches ideal were still popular. It was easy for Dreiser to follow the well established pattern of a Horatio Alger story; one could hardly expect any originality in treatment of this theme.

The rapidity with which Dreiser composed his work is indicated by the fact that an interview by him appeared almost every month in the first two years of *Success*.⁴⁴ The monotonous similarity of these articles stemmed from several identical questions he put to the men he wrote about: "What quality in you was most essential to your success?" "Were you rich or poor before starting a career?" "Were reading and school work necessary for your success?" "What is your concept of happiness?" To stock questions there were stock answers. All the men of course said hard work led to their success. To this they added such traits as "perseverance" and "consistency" in their work; they all emphasized "honesty" and "integrity" as the moral scruples rewarded by success. Except for Thomas Edison, however, they did not believe in "overwork." All were convinced that the fewer advantages one had in his youth, the greater chances for success one could hope for. Even a man coming from a relatively distinguished family like Joseph H. Choate, a leading lawyer and later an ambas-

sador, retorted: "I never met a great man who was born rich" (*Success*, 1 [Jan. 1899], 41). To accumulate wealth, they all advocated thrift, saving, and investment. Also they replied that so-called education and book-learning had little effect on their successful careers, a point with which Dreiser could certainly agree.

Finally, despite the prestige and glory accorded to successful men, Dreiser learned that only constant labor, not luxury and wealth, constituted their happiness. "... when it is all done and is a success," Edison, for instance, confessed, "I can't bear the sight of it. I haven't used a telephone in ten years, and I would go out of my way any day to miss an incandescent light" (*Success*, 1 [Feb. 1898], 9). Once these men achieved their eminence, most of them looked for satisfaction in some humanitarian cause, but to them labor itself preceded such happiness. Thus Philip D. Armour, a businessman and philanthropist, explained: "If you give the world better material, better measure, better opportunities for living respectably, there is happiness in that. You cannot give the world anything without labor, and there is no satisfaction in anything but labor that looks toward doing this, and does it" (*Success*, 1 [Feb. 1898], 4). Whether Dreiser trusted Carnegie's words on humanitarianism here is questionable in view of the various reservations Dreiser had expressed about the industrialist. In *Success* magazine, Dreiser somewhat inflated Carnegie's motive for a large-hearted liberality.

Among Dreiser's thirty *Success* articles, exactly half were later reprinted in three separate volumes edited by Marden without reference to Dreiser's authorship: *How They Succeeded* (1901), *Talks with Great Workers* (1901), and *Little Visits with Great Americans* (1903). One could easily speculate why the other half were not selected by Marden, but there were some obvious reasons. In each case, Marden certainly wanted to dramatize the life-story of a single figure; seven of these articles, such as "American Women as Successful Playwrights" and "America's Greatest Portrait Painters," dealt with more than one individual and so did not suit Marden's purpose. The fact remains that the rest of the articles were left out for some other reasons. Whether or not Marden disagreed with Dreiser's point of view on the subject is unknown, but it is interesting to note that most of those eliminated from the volumes of reprints lacked a sense of glamor often associated with the American Dream of Success. Mar-

den's intention in this project was to inspire young men and women who wanted to be somebody but felt they had no chance in life. However, the list of Dreiser's *Success* stories that were omitted, for instance, interviews with Alice B. Stephens (a well known woman painter), H. Barrington Cox (inventor), Clara S. Foltz (a leading woman lawyer), Edward Atkinson (a food scientist), and Thomas B. Reed (one-time Speaker of the House), demonstrated, contrary to common belief, that success was necessarily derived from one's advantages over others at the start of life, including a solid educational background.⁴⁵

Perhaps the most significant point to be drawn from Marden's selection is that he did not approve of Dreiser's interest in humanistically oriented portrayals of successful men. There were two such articles that were carefully omitted from Marden's reprints: "A Cripple Whose Energy Gives Inspiration" and "A Touch of Human Brotherhood." In the first piece Dreiser, as if writing a story, describes how bleak a small fishing town on the coast of Connecticut had become through the decline in the whaling business and ship-building industry. "A friend of mine and myself," Dreiser begins the tale, "were sitting on the lawn surrounding the local Baptist church, one morning, discussing the possibilities of life and development in so small and silent a place, when a trivial incident turned the arguments to the necessity of doing something to promote the organization and intelligence of the world." The author's ensuing narration reveals an idea which would later clarify the meaning of struggle in his novels: while other young boys, complaining about their unfortunate social and economic conditions, cursed the world and idled away their energy and ambition, a physically handicapped youth, persisting in his labor and winning public trust and love, achieved happiness and success in life.⁴⁶

The second story was concerned with the concept of success and happiness according to a less glamorous and totally strange figure found on Broadway and Fifth Avenue in New York City. This man's story was so striking that Dreiser used it towards the end of *Sister Carrie*, where a lone, poverty-stricken man known only by his title of Captain created a job for himself.⁴⁷ In both versions, Captain solicits passers-by to contribute money to shelter bums during nights when the cold was as keen as the chill of Stieglitz's photograph. In the

eyes of this self-styled philanthropist, people think that life is beautiful outside rather than inside. They would regard as happiness the “hotels and theaters, the carriages and fine homes—they’re all in the eye . . . it’s only for a season” (*Success*, 5 [March 1902], 176). The same scene had earlier appeared in another magazine article entitled “Curious Shifts of the Poor.”⁴⁸ To Dreiser’s surprise, many of the poor in the streets, though they appeared helpless and isolated, were not complaining as others were. These seemingly victimized men, Dreiser discovered, were merely indifferent, if not cheerful, towards their conditions; in fact, they were far more mentally stable than the rich.

Another *Success* article that failed to be reprinted by Marden was “The Tenement Toilers,” one of several reports on the seamy side of city life that Dreiser wrote shortly after *Sister Carrie*. In it, in contrast to his other *Success* stories, Dreiser dispassionately told how city workers for cheap labor lived in inhumanly crowded tenements and taught their children that money was all they must aim at in life.⁴⁹ “Christmas in the Tenements” also discussed a contrast between the rich and the poor, but here he joyfully observed that despite their wretched living conditions in the tenements, Christmas brought them temporary relief.⁵⁰ And curiously he proposed a *carpe diem* theme for them: “Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow you must die” (*Harper’s Weekly*, 46 [Dec. 6, 1902], 53). A little earlier his essay on “The Transmigration of the Sweat Shop” (*Puritan*, 8 [July 1900], 498–502), which was to serve him for Carrie Meeber’s sweatshop in the novel, disclosed that such conditions did indeed exist in the factories he had visited in New Jersey. Dreiser’s argument here was interesting because he presented himself as a reformer, not merely a compassionate and philanthropic observer, but one who believed that these conditions could be eliminated by men of good will, honesty, and justice—employees as well as employers. Society was full of inadequacies and inequalities, but now he could suggest positive remedies for society to use in coping with the problem. Man, Dreiser began to see, was not necessarily a victim of his conditions; it would be possible for man himself to ameliorate them. Likewise, “Little Clubmen of the Tenements” served Dreiser for a counter-argument to Crane’s “An Experiment in Misery.”⁵¹ The subtitle of Dreiser’s piece reads: “A remarkable boys’ club established in Fall River, Massachusetts,

for the children of the slums who find there the resources of a city and the pleasures of a home" (*Puritan*, 7 [Feb. 1900], 665). His experiment showed that no matter how poorly such children were brought up in the tenements, they could still acquire good manners and attitudes once they were placed in the club. In the past some of them had lived with alcoholic parents; others had been orphans, motherless, fatherless, or had been turned out to roam the streets at night. Wounds of environment on the children were deep enough, yet he learned that they could be healed.

What emerged from such social criticism was that Dreiser was not easily swayed by the appearances of reality. While the dreams of contemporary Americans were dramatized in his accounts, it was still possible for him to delve into their miseries and fears as well. He could now look at social phenomena from the vantage points of a worker and a capitalist. As a social critic, he was not superficial; his analyses and details were balanced by his arguments and points of view. "Man's ingenuity," he opened a report on the cartridge factory, "finds many contradictory channels for its expression. The labor to perfect those sciences which tend to save human life goes on side by side with the labor to create new and more potent methods for its destruction."⁵² From a commercial point of view, the Chicago River provided him with a symbol of progress. The river not only gave the corporations the most efficient services but also offered the city its beauty: "At night, when the heavy traffic ceases and the bridges lose their throngs of vehicles and pedestrians, it glows beneath the lamps and sky like a stream of silver."⁵³ But, from a citizen's point of view, it was already the most polluted river in the country despite the federal laws which should have protected this navigable stream. Dreiser also had his second thoughts on that sacred Mississippi River, still fresh with its echoes from Mark Twain. Though aware of its scenic charms and literary memories, Dreiser thought its traditions to be an anachronism in the light of later and more civilized conditions:

The overseers howl terribly without taking breath, brandish sticks, wave their arms, stamp their feet, and make startling lunges in all directions. They threaten the idle, curse the active, bluff the bystanders, and add prodigiously [sic] to the tumult of the scene without otherwise affecting it. Regardless of these busy-bodies that buzz about like gnats, the darkies

shuffle here and there, rolling with rhythmic motions and with more rests than efforts the cotton bales. The character of the negro in the situation is no doubt picturesque, but the fact that business is more or less dependent upon such labor, and the impossibility of securing active, systematic, skilled service forms one of the serious problems in the commerce of the river.⁵⁴

In his discussion of successful public figures Dreiser was also critical, often undercutting their image and reputation. In "The Real Choate," the celebrated lawyer-diplomat was assailed, for Dreiser believed he was unworthy of his reputation. In another article on Choate, published a few months earlier in *Success*, Dreiser was unable to criticize him freely because of Marden's theory of success. In that article Choate's assiduity and skill as a lawyer were generously praised, but Dreiser could not help pointing out his inadequacies as a human being.⁵⁵ Choate was known for his brilliant quotations from Shakespeare; his name and background in the New England stock shone brightly in people's minds. But Dreiser hastened to add: "There is not enough of that radiant humanity in him which the common people understand and make fellowship with" (*Ainslee's*, 3 [April 1899], 324). The problem with his personality, Dreiser argued, derived not so much from his intellect and air of superiority as from his profession itself, in which his mind was preoccupied with the cold corporations, his time spent "with entanglements never seen of the people" (*ibid.*, 326). Englishmen, to whom he represented Americans, would admire "his brilliancy, his unfailing humor, his persuasive powers, and his fine show of courage and chivalry"; but for American purposes, Dreiser insisted, he needed other qualities, the chief of which should have been "a craving for distinction at the hands of the people" (*ibid.*). What was worse, Choate was attacked on moral grounds. "It is curious," Dreiser wondered, "that this powerful analytical sense is seldom joined with any tenderness of heart, or with any defined leanings to right or wrong" (*ibid.*, 328). That man must be judged not by what he says but by what he does was Dreiser's reminder to his readers. Dreiser's conclusion was simple: "he has done for himself nobly, not for others" (*ibid.*, 333). For Dreiser, then, Choate's talents—"arrayed in all their subtlety in defense of some execrable Tammany scapegoat, some organized industry seeking to avoid the fulfillment of its just obligations, some cor-

poration caught in act of the [sic] false dealing with the State"—served to symbolize the evil forces that were to dominate the American political system for generations to come. And the portrayal of the underdog in the rising civilization Dreiser later wove into his fiction was to be a faithful reflection of reality in America.

v

Dreiser's understanding and feeling for American life were reflected in full force in his novels. That picture of American life, some critics argued, was distorted, but Dreiser spoke the truth as he saw it. In "True Art Speaks Plainly" in 1903, shortly after the turmoil over the publication of *Sister Carrie*, Dreiser wrote: "The extent of all reality is the realm of the author's pen, and a true picture of life, honestly and reverentially set down, is both moral and artistic whether it offends the conventions or not."⁵⁶ It is now easy to see that Dreiser's magazine writings in the 1890's show Dreiser's characteristic reverence for his material. Whether he was commenting on artists, writers, or society in general, this attitude resulted from his lifelong conviction that "the surest guide is a true and responsive heart."⁵⁷

Qualities of sympathy and compassion undisputably characterize his fiction, but what his magazine work indicates is the fact that Dreiser was not a simple "commiserator" as Edward D. McDonald portrayed him in a picture attached to an article in *The Bookman*: Dreiser, in tears, devouring a tragic story in the newspaper.⁵⁸ His compassionate appreciation of any stories of human interest cannot be doubted, but more importantly Dreiser before *Sister Carrie* also acquired a capacity for detachment and objectivity; rarely did his magazine essays display passionate outbursts. In effect, Dreiser was a literary realist in the best sense of the word. These magazine contributions suggest that although he was eager to learn from literary and philosophical sources, he trusted his own vision and portrayed life firsthand.

H. Alan Wycherley recently maintained that Dreiser's nonfiction after 1900 fluctuated between "mechanism" and "vitalism."⁵⁹ If Mr. Wycherley is right, as I believe he is, Dreiser was clearly a vitalist in his free-lance work of the 1890's. This vitalist philosophy was so deeply rooted in the most important period of his development that it likely remained in him the rest of his career. In his novels, Dreiser

often writes of the apparently indifferent and uncontrollable forces that sweep over man's life, but in reality he does not seem to have abandoned man's capacity to determine his own destiny. Although Dreiser has often been labelled as a literary naturalist in the manner of Zola and the other French naturalists, his magazine writing suggests that he was perhaps, at least in his early years, more a naturalist in the vein of Thoreau and John Burroughs than a literary naturalist. Many of his early writings reveal that Dreiser was genuinely an American patriot; he was unabashedly an advocate of the American values and an exponent of national character. Thus, his writing in this period constantly stressed the value of contentment in one's daily living; Dreiser was not a religionist or mystic as he was characterized towards the end of his life. Whatever assessment a modern reader may make of Dreiser's magazine writing, the fact remains that it was indeed comprehensive. And what we have is a substantial portion of the vital impressions a major American writer received from his environment at the dawn of the twentieth century in America.

NOTES

1. *Dreiser and the Land of the Free* (New York, 1946), p. 142.
2. See, for instance, W. A. Swanberg, *Dreiser* (New York, 1965), p. 76. A notable exception is Ellen Moers; see *Two Dreisers* (New York, 1969), pp. 32-69.
3. Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp. 6-8.
4. *Crumbling Idols*, ed. Jane Johnson (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p. 116.
5. *Critic*, O.S. 25 (1894), 97.
6. *Fortnightly Review*, 93 (1910), 921-932.
7. See Isaac F. Marcossos, *Adventures in Interviewing* (New York, 1923), pp. 60-61.
8. *A Book About Myself* (New York, 1922), p. 178.
9. Cf. Letters of J. Scott Hartley to Dreiser in the University of Pennsylvania Dreiser Collection.
10. *Metropolitan*, 7 (April 1898), 359.
11. "Benjamin Eggleston, Painter," *Ainslee's*, 1 (April 1898), 45.
12. "A Great American Caricaturist," *Ainslee's*, 1 (May 1898), 340.
13. "A Notable Colony: Artistic and Literary People on the Picturesque Bronx," *Demorest's*, 35 (August 1899), 240-241.
14. "C. C. Curran," *Truth*, 18 (September 1899), 228.
15. "Lawrence E. Earle," *Truth*, 20 (February 1901), 27-30.
16. "The Sculpture of Fernando Miranda," *Ainslee's*, 2 (August 1898), 113-118.
17. "The Art of MacMonnies and Morgan," *Metropolitan*, 7 (February 1898), 143-151.

18. See *Letters of Theodore Dreiser*, ed. Robert H. Elias (Philadelphia, 1959), I, 94. Hereafter *Letters*.
19. "Concerning Bruce Crane," *Truth*, 18 (June 1899), 143-147.
20. *Truth*, 18 (February 1899), 35.
21. "America's Greatest Portrait Painters," *Success*, 2 (February 11, 1899), 184.
22. "A Master of Photography," *Success*, 2 (June 10, 1899), 471.
23. "The Camera Club of New York," *Ainslee's*, 4 (October 1899), 329.
24. See "The Color of Today," *Harper's Weekly*, 45 (1901), 1272-1273; *Twelve Men* (New York, 1919), 344-360.
25. See, for instance, "Benjamin Eggleston, Painter," *Ainslee's*, 1 (April 1898), 41.
26. "Historic Tarrytown," *Ainslee's*, 1 (March 1898), 25-31.
27. "Haunts of Nathaniel Hawthorne," *Truth*, 17 (September 21, 1898), 7-9; (September 28, 1898), 11-13.
28. "The Home of William Cullen Bryant," *Munsey's*, 21 (1899), 240-246.
29. "Edmund Clarence Stedman at Home," *Munsey's*, 20 (1899), 931-938.
30. "The Haunts of Bayard Taylor," *Munsey's*, 18 (1898), 594-601.
31. "The Real Zangwill," *Ainslee's*, 2 (November 1898), 351-357.
32. "The Real Howells," *Ainslee's*, 5 (March 1900), 137-142.
33. In a letter of October 15, 1911 to William C. Lengel, Dreiser wrote: "You will not be surprised when I tell you that few American books if any interest me. I've enjoyed *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Huckleberry Finn* and *Roughing It* and *Ben-Hur* as a boy. More recently or rather somewhat later I liked *The Red Badge of Courage* (Crane)[,] *Main-Travelled Roads* (Hamlin Garland)[,] *With the Procession* (H. B. Fuller)[,] *McTeague* (Frank Norris)[,] *The 13th District* (Brand Whitlock)[,] *The Story of Eva* (Will Payne)[,] *Quicksand* (Hervey White) & *Their Wedding Journey* (W. D. Howells). These are quite the sum total of my American literary admirations." *Letters*, I, 121. As late as 1942 Dreiser told George Ade: "In fact I entered it [the "gay nineties"] with your *Fables in Slang*, Finley Dunne's *Philosopher Dooley*, Frank Norris' *McTeague* and Hamlin Garland's *Main-Travelled Roads*. And I stored it—or thought I had—along with these and a very few others of that time or earlier:—Howells' *Their Wedding Journey*, for example. These were the beginning of my private library of American Realism." *Letters*, III, 949.
34. *Ev'ry Month*, 3, No 4 (January 1, 1897), 7.
35. "The Horseless Age," *Demorest's*, 35 (May 1899), 155.
36. "Carrier Pigeons in War Time," *Demorest's*, 34 (July 1898), 222-223.
37. "Plant Life Underground," *Pearson's*, 11 (June 1901), 861-862.
38. "The New Knowledge of Weeds," *Ainslee's*, 8 (January 1902), 533.
39. *Harper's Monthly*, 100 (1900), 479-484.
40. One example of the educational policy advanced by the railroads around the turn of the century was mapping and examining the soils for the benefit of farmers as well as for industry. See "The Problem of the Soil," *Era*, 12 (September 1903), 249.
41. "The Making of Small Arms," *Ainslee's*, 1 (July 1898), 549.
42. "The Harlem River Speedway," *Ainslee's*, 2 (August 1898), 56.

43. See "Where Battleships Are Built," *Ainslee's*, 1 (June 1898), 433-439; "The Chicago Drainage Canal," *Ainslee's*, 3 (February 1899), 53-61; "The Town of Pullman," *Ainslee's*, 3 (March 1899), 189-200; "The Log of an Ocean Pilot," *Ainslee's*, 3 (July 1899), 683-692; "From New York to Boston by Trolley," *Ainslee's*, 4 (August 1899), 74-84; "New York's Underground Railroad," *Pearson's*, 9 (April 1900), 375-384.
44. See "A Talk with America's Leading Lawyer [Choate]," *Success*, 1 (January 1898), 40-41; "A Photographic Talk with Edison," *Success*, 1 (February 1898), 8-9; "Life Stories of Successful Men—No. 10, Philip D. Armour," *Success*, 1 (October 1898), 3-4; "Life Stories of Successful Men—No. 11, Chauncey M. Depew," *Success*, 1 (November 1898), 3-4; "Life Stories of Successful Men—No. 12, Marshall Field," *Success*, 2 (December 8, 1898), 7-8; "A Leader of Young Mankind, Frank W. Gunsaulus," *Success*, 2 (December 15, 1898), 23-24; "A Monarch of Metal Workers [Carnegie]," *Success*, 2 (June 3, 1899), 453-454.
45. See "A High Priestess of Art," *Success*, 1 (January 1898), 55; "A Vision of Fairy Lamps," *Success*, 1 (March 1898), 23; "The Career of a Modern Portia," *Success*, 2 (February 18, 1899), 205-206; "Atkinson on National Food Reform," *Success*, 3 (January 1900), 4; "Thomas Brackett Reed: The Story of a Great Career," *Success*, 3 (June 1900), 215-216.
46. *Success*, 5 (February 1902), 72-73.
47. "A Touch of Human Brotherhood," *Success*, 5 (March 1902), 140-141, 176; cf. *Sister Carrie* (New York, 1900), pp. 517-525. Whether the article was written before *Sister Carrie* or possibly extracted from the novel is difficult to determine.
48. "Curious Shifts of the Poor. Strange Ways of Relieving Desperate Poverty.—Last Resources of New York's Most Pitiful Mendicants," *Demorest's*, 36 (November 1899), 22-26. "Curious Shifts of the Poor" is also the title of Chapter 45 in *Sister Carrie*.
49. "The Tenement Toilers," *Success*, 5 (April 1902), 213-214, 232. The same article appeared as "The Toilers of the Tenements" with some stylistic changes in *The Color of a Great City* (New York, 1923), pp. 85-99.
50. *Harper's Weekly*, 46 (December 6, 1902), 52-53; reprinted in *Color*.
51. See "Little Clubmen of the Tenements," *Puritan*, 7 (February 1900), 665-672; cf. "The Transmigration of the Sweat Shop," *Puritan*, 8 (July 1900), 498-502.
52. "Scenes in a Cartridge Factory," *Cosmopolitan*, 25 (July 1898), 321.
53. "The Smallest and Busiest River in the World," *Metropolitan*, 8 (October 1898), 363.
54. "The Trade of the Mississippi," *Ainslee's*, 4 (January 1900), 742-743.
55. *Ainslee's*, 3 (April 1899), 324-333.
56. *Booklover's Magazine*, 1 (February 1903), 129.
57. "Reflections," *Ev'ry Month*, 2, No. 3 (June 1, 1896), 2.
58. See Edward D. McDonald, "Dreiser Before 'Sister Carrie,'" *The Bookman* (U.S.), 67 (1928), facing p. 369.
59. "Mechanism and Vitalism in Dreiser's Nonfiction," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 11 (1969), 1039-1049.

Hemingway's *Islands in the Stream*: a Collection of Additional Reviews

RAY LEWIS WHITE*

WHEN Charles Scribner's Sons published Ernest Hemingway's *Islands in the Stream* on October 6, 1970, book reviewers for the nation's magazines and newspapers were well prepared. Not only had Scribner's given wide pre-publication publicity to the novel, but critics and journalists had been speculating since Hemingway's death in 1961 about the "big novel" presumably left completed among the author's papers. The appearance of *Islands in the Stream* would tempt reviewers to give unusual space to answering their questions: where did *Islands in the Stream* fit into the Hemingway canon? was Hemingway becoming insane or enfeebled when he wrote it? would the master have published the work himself, had he lived longer? was the novel actually a forgery? did Hemingway maintain his famous style and philosophy into old age? and had Mary Hemingway tampered with the novel itself or damaged her late husband's reputation by posthumous publication of the work?

Many of the individual book reviewers' answers to these and other questions about *Islands in the Stream* appear in Audre Hanneman, *Supplement to Ernest Hemingway: A Comprehensive Bibliography* (Princeton, 1975). Among Hanneman's listing of works about Hemingway published from 1966 through 1973 are fifty-two annotated entries for reviews of *Islands in the Stream*. Yet so well was this novel publicized, so famous was the Hemingway legend, and so eager were book reviewers to comment on the work that I have been able to collect fifty-eight additional reviews of the novel—clippings from newspapers and magazines published across the nation in 1970. Besides these fifty-eight reviews presented below in annotated form, my collection includes twenty-one reviews listed by Hanneman as well as several publicity items about the novel—a total of 104 individual clippings.

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For the use of all students of the life and works of Ernest Hemingway, I have given this entire collection of periodical material about *Islands in the Stream* to The Charles Patterson Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

1. Review of *Islands*. *New York* (September 4, 1970).

“Reading this posthumous novel, written before 1952, is like seeing an old Bogey movie. . . . The plot isn’t the book’s strength, but the early, reflective passages are tender and lovely. Hemingway can also be very funny, in case you’ve forgotten.”

2. James Powers. “Book Reviews.” *Hollywood Reporter* [CA] (September 18, 1970).

Islands is “not only a very good book, it is among the best books Hemingway ever wrote; one must go back to ‘For Whom the Bell Tolls’ and before to find the purity and purpose, the grasp of theme and its development. ‘Islands in the Stream’ may be Ernest Hemingway’s finest novel.”

3. Nicholas Joost. “An Island Artist’s Moment of Truth.” *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (September 26–27, 1970).

Islands is “as haunting as any fiction, long or short, that Hemingway ever wrote; but it is an unfinished masterwork, like Michelangelo’s ‘Slave.’ ” The characters are familiar, the dialogues are poor, the humor is unnatural, the obscenity is overdone, but “What remains . . . is the profounder and wider sense, the poetry of Hemingway: tender, wild, sad, bleak beyond bleakness. It fills the title of the novel with a heraclitean acknowledgement of the flux of this visible world and with a tragic acceptance that all things and emotions pass. The poetry lies in Hemingway’s use of structure.”

4. James Childs. “‘Islands In The Stream’ Evokes Familiar World of Hemingway.” *New Haven Register* (September 27, 1970).

“Certainly it can be believed that Mary Hemingway and Charles Scribner added nothing to the original manuscript, and one realizes that Hemingway would have certainly edited and reworked the whole. It is another matter, however, that Mary Hemingway, simply because she was Hemingway’s wife—his fourth wife—presumes that she knows what material should have been excised from the book. And after having read the whole,

one wonders why the editors, since they removed some, did not remove more. . . . At its best, the novel is a good adventure story for men; at its worst it is a crime against the integrity of one of American literature's great men of letters. Any posthumous work that damages that reputation is better left unpublished."

5. William Gallo. "Hemingway's 'big book.'" *Denver Rocky Mountain News* (September 27, 1970).

"Throughout this novel, there are flashes of Hemingway at his best, but they are always self-conscious and masked. Here we have Hemingway writing Hemingway as he thinks is expected of him. He is his own bad imitator." The author was in crisis when writing his work: "In 1952 the only out was self-parody. 'Islands in the Stream,' which Hemingway had called his 'big book,' turns out to be much smaller indeed, haunted by the ghosts of the past, and marked by the will to destruction."

6. Michael Prochilo. "A Lyrical Stream Leading to Inner Truths." *Quincy Patriot-Ledger* [MA] (October 1, 1970).

"In 'Islands in the Stream' Hemingway has created a moving and disturbing portrait of a man and his times, a work that explores the interrelationship of the artist and the man, a work that is like a tone poem to the enveloping sea, a work that is flint hard in style yet gentle in approach. It is a magnificent and readable work, a work that is rich in character, symbol, dialogue—all that we have come to expect from Hemingway."

7. Miles A. Smith. "3-part novel by Hemingway." *Ansonia Evening Sentinel* [CT] (October 1, 1970).

"There is a lot of typical Hemingway in this novel. . . . The question is whether this is 'the real Hemingway,' and whether it is a 'major' work. The answer seems to be a qualified affirmative. Parts of the novel are quite excellent. Other parts no doubt would be considered very good if they had been written by some John Doe in the Hemingway tradition. But these parts are not quite so impressive, coming from the master himself.

The fact remains that this is story-telling of high order."

8. Charles A. Brady. "It's a Hemingway Replay And 'Papa' KOs Ernest." *Buffalo Evening News* (October 3, 1970)

"To an admirer of the great Hemingway canon this posthumous volume must inevitably seem like one of those computerized

boxing bouts between champions of different period which Hemingway did not live to see.

In his own case, alas, he knew his verdict beforehand—that ‘Papa’ had already kayoed Ernest. The story record is at hand in this gigantic failure, innocently paraded by a widow who chose to have it disinterred and embalmed for viewing in one of the Book-of-the-Month Club’s handsomer coffins.”

9. Anne C. Walsh. “It Could Be Tidier, But It’s Still Hemingway.” *Phoenix Evening Gazette* (October 3, 1970).

“For some reason, bullfighting, big game hunting, and Spain are left out of this transparently biographical fiction, unless there’s a hint of the Spanish Civil War fighting in the anti-sub action. ‘Island [sic] in the Stream’ should be judged, in all fairness, as an unfinished work, or a working work from which the bearded simplifier of sentences could take yeasty hunks and punch them into tight loaves.”

10. Alvin Beam. “New Hemingway.” *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (October 4, 1970).

“It might have been a great deal better, and it might not, if the author had lived to deal with it himself.

My guess is that individual passages would have been improved but really not much else. The book never really gets anywhere. But one’s reaction along the way is personal. There has been nostalgia in mine. I have thoroughly enjoyed this novel on every page. . . . But I do wish Hemingway were with us to offer it in some improved final form. This was a very great man.”

11. Carl Bode. “Papa Knew Best Not To Publish.” *Baltimore Sun* (October 4, 1970).

“For anyone who likes and admires Hemingway this is a dreadful book.

Few would deny that the two greatest novelists our country produced in the first half of this century were Faulkner and Hemingway. ‘The Sun Also Rises,’ ‘A Farewell to Arms,’ ‘For Whom the Bell Tolls,’ the Nick Adams cycle, the roll is a splendid one. And I admit that I have enjoyed Hemingway so much that even the bad novels, ‘To Have and Have Not’ and ‘Across the River and Into the Trees,’ can still hold me. But ‘Islands in the

Stream' is a caricature of everything that is good or great in Hemingway's fiction."

12. Mary Snead Boger. "Was Hemingway Ashamed Of This?" *Charlotte Observer* (October 4, 1970).

In all of his works Hemingway was "writing his own philosophy of life and his living out of that philosophy, and in so doing, he captured millions of readers, relieved at his short declarative prose, but also caught by identity with his dream.

This, then, justifies 'Islands in the Stream.' To finish the story cleanly . . . to show the sadness, the insecurity, the terrible floundering that finally encompassed Ernest Hemingway that morning in Idaho.

Judged in this light, although he must have seen and rejected the flatulent pages . . . the book emerges as true art, even with the bad writing, because it is the honest climax to the long Hemingway saga of tragic, flawed man in his search for truth."

13. Alan Branigan. "Hemingway's Posthumous Book." *Newark News* (October 4, 1970).

"The hand of the master rarely faltered. Out of the final years of Ernest Hemingway, who died in 1961, has come another fine novel. In 'Islands in the Stream' can be seen many of the motifs and themes of Hemingway's earlier books, now refined and used with such casual expertise that the reader can only stand back and admire. And enjoy. . . . 'Islands in the Stream' is, in sum, a meandering, oddly written work, perhaps with some areas that might have been excised by the author. It remains, however, one of the most readable and fascinating books of the season and one that may become dinner table talk this winter."

14. Edwin Briggs. "Hemingway: more of the real thing." *Boston Globe* (October 4, 1970).

"In the last of his writing Hemingway could still make a reader hungry or thirsty, could still represent relationships, chiefly among men, with sharp discrimination and a minimum of intervening analysis, could still build scenes in the mind's eye. . . . It is the fashion now in Academe to belittle Hemingway. His fictional world is too specialized, too exclusive, his characters too simple and unreflective, his books too much like one another. But we should remember that books are written to be read one at a time,

and the best episodes of 'Islands in the Stream' should remind us that it is the first duty of fiction to stimulate and control the imagination and to store the memory."

15. Richard E. Cady. "Hemingway's Genius Dulls Defects." *Indianapolis Star* (October 4, 1970).

"Given what must be considered the 'final' version of an unfinished work, we have a book best described as not superior, at least in Hemingway terms, but containing some superior writing. . . . The thin parts of the book, the doors left open, the faces only glimpsed, are mute evidence that Hemingway was unable to finish the novel over a period of more than a decade.

But Hemingway was, first of all, an artist, and the achievement of the book, whatever the defects, rests in Thomas Hudson. He will join Jake Barnes, Frederick [sic] Henry and Robert Jordan as enduring Hemingway characters, versions of the writer in one way or another but brought across to the reader as vitally and vividly human."

16. Rod Cockshutt. "Hemingway: 'Islands in the Stream.'" *Raleigh News and Observer* (October 4, 1970).

"As fine and full a yarn as it is, it seems safe to assume that **Islands in the Stream** never would have been published in its present form had not Ernest Hemingway or some equally important name brand author, now dead, written it. . . . Still, we have the big book, all three sections, and for all its flaws, it is still cause for elaborate cork-popping. Despite its unevenness, at least some of which Hemingway might have repaired eventually, **Islands in the Stream** is clearly in a league by itself today. Its publication now reminds again how bereft of giants the craft of fiction has become."

17. Joan Bennett Doerner. "Hemingway's Scrap Heap Hardly Does Him Justice—Another Novel Scrounged." *Houston Chronicle* (October 4, 1970).

"What can I say about the posthumous novel of a renowned writer when that book turns out to be a dud? It makes no difference whether I look at the book singly (is it possible?) or in comparison to his other works. The verdict is the same. It occurs to me that maybe Hemingway did not want this one to be published."

18. Joan Hanauer. "Hemingway's 'Islands.'" *Miami Herald* (October 4, 1970).

"The last major work by the late Ernest Hemingway, a novel called 'Islands in the Stream,' will be published Tuesday and it is very, very good. It is also unquestionably all Hemingway.

It has the clear, crisp, beautifully disciplined prose that no one has ever been able to surpass, even in the days when everyone was trying to master it.

It has sections of great warmth, a fight with a giant fish that is Hemingway at his best, some rough and tumble, some comedy, some barroom scenes and a sea chase. . . . Whether today's readers will find Hemingway vital and alive, even in death, or an anachronism in this time, remains to be seen. But few doubt the publication of his last novel marks a literary milestone."

19. Roy Hudson. "Last Hemingway Novel Judged Literary Milestone." *Salt Lake Tribune* (October 4, 1970).

"In the time to come 'Islands in the Stream,' Ernest Hemingway's last novel, most likely will be scanned and probed and examined and dissected and put together again to try to determine how it ranks with his earlier works, and if it appears the old master would have polished, or expanded, or cut it, had he lived. . . . In this reviewer's opinion, it is not quite as high as 'For Whom the Bell Tolls' but undoubtedly far superior to 'Across the River and Into the Trees.' It will have to be regarded as major work. Color it very, very good."

20. Roy Kohler. "Much That Is Hemingway—Some That Isn't—In Last Novel." *Pittsburgh Press* (October 4, 1970).

"How much of it is pure Hemingway and how much is a product of editing and rewriting is speculation. Judged on its own merit, 'Islands in the Stream' must be rated a better than average novel. If the yardstick of measurement to his previous works must be applied, it must be termed average Hemingway. . . its [sic] 'must reading' for the generations who were reared on Hemingway, and they'll get their money's worth out of it. I suspect, however, that the younger generation will be more bemused by its historical significance than its entertainment value or prose style."

21. Roger Leais. "Good Hemingway Novel 'Starting To Emerge.' " *Fayetteville Observer* [NC] (October 4, 1970).

"Good as ISLANDS IN THE STREAM is, something is missing: the holding back, the fierce reserve that in the first Hemingway books amounted to compression and gave them great distinction. Possibly some of this quality is missing because Hemingway did not revise ISLANDS IN THE STREAM for final publication. When it was operating properly, Hemingway had the best blue pencil in the trade."

22. Charles Lee. "Hemingway Lives Again And So Do His Characters." *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* (October 4, 1970).

"This new and presumably last novel by Hemingway is, of course, both a publishing and a literary event. It will command instant and universal attention. Yet what is even more gratifying is that it excites interest in the reading, though it is certainly not a masterpiece. . . . Hemingway's book is a study of relationships, from women to work, from play to grief, from the sound of a child's breathing to the bark of guns, from cats to cosmos.

But the one with his reader is the most intimate and animate of all, as you will gratefully discover in the pages of this posthumously published novel, itself remarkably alive with voice and muscle."

23. Richard Lehan. "Hemingway." *Boston Herald-Traveler Book Guide* (October 4, 1970).

"While 'Islands in the Stream' is as readable as any Hemingway novel, it is not re-readable, perhaps the best test of a novel's worth. . . . the reader who long awaited it is bound to be disappointed. Hemingway began his career in 'The Torrents of Spring' by parodying Sherwood Anderson. In 'Islands in the Stream' he ends it by parodying himself.

Much of Hemingway's final despair stemmed from the realization that he had written himself out. In treating the emotional and physical decline that led to an artist's death, 'Islands in the Stream' is perhaps truer to the spirit of Hemingway's autobiography than to the dictates of fiction.

At any rate, the publication of this novel proves that scraping the Hemingway barrel can be very sad business."

24. Minnie Hite Moody. "Last Hemingway Novel Runs Parallel to Life." *Columbus Evening Dispatch* [OH] (October 4, 1970).

"Criticism of the present book, even if due, would be unfair. It is the established policy of this reviewer never to offer a word of dissidence in the case of a posthumous work. A Hemingway work has been a literary event ever since publication of 'The Sun Also Rises,' and the fact that this is a book left behind when the author died in 1961, makes it none the less so. . . . This is a deep-water book, with some frothy surf at the edges."

25. Maria J. Moore. "Trusting in Hemingway's Alchemy." *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* [VA] (October 4, 1970).

"A few hours spent reading the new Ernest Hemingway book will prove the truth of what the late author had to say about his own work. Regardless of what critics may say for or against 'Islands in the Stream,' Ernest Hemingway's singular alchemy and past successes as the writer he wanted to be will endure long after the posthumous publication of this manuscript is forgotten. . . . I refuse to believe that if he were alive he would have permitted publication of 'Islands in the Stream.' "

26. Theodore M. O'Leary. "Books of the Day." *Kansas City Star* (October 4, 1970).

"In 'Islands in the Sea Stream' [sic] Hemingway displays his own familiar strengths and weaknesses as a writer. His sensual acuity, one of his greatest assets, is still keen—making itself felt in some superb descriptive passages. His strong love for Paris . . . comes through strongly if briefly in luminous prose. Some of his dialogue . . . is as good as any he ever wrote, with a more persistent note of humor in it than was customary in Hemingway. But his vain glory has seldom been more evident. . . . Hemingway's sense of form and structure, so praiseworthy in novels like 'The Sun Also Rises' and 'A Farewell to Arms,' is almost completely missing in 'Islands in the Stream.' "

27. Walton D. Porterfield. "In a Big Novel, Ernest Hemingway Returns 'in All His Magnificence.' " *Milwaukee Journal* (October 4, 1970).

"This is Ernest Hemingway in all his magnificence as a writer—the master of storytelling, description, dialog, controlled introspection and bullet snapping action—the complex, two hearted

man who was as good at words as he was with a Thompson gun. . . . Occasionally, there is too much talk in the novel—and some dialog lacks the brevity of the usual Hemingway speech wizardry—but the work, as an entirety, is the author at his mature and powerful best, a book that, in its fashion, ranks well with the great ones like ‘The Sun Also Rises,’ ‘A Farewell to Arms,’ and ‘For Whom the Bell Tolls.’

It is Hemingway in every way—and that is a long, long way in literary artistry.”

28. Margaret W. Reid. “Papa Hemingway’s Last Major Work.” *Wichita Falls Times* (October 4, 1970).

“‘Bimini’ is the gem in this trilogy, but all three [sections] will appeal to those, especially men, who love fishing, boats, and the sea. The stories foreshadow Hemingway’s eventual emotional breakdown, his Hudson, at one point, even discusses suicide with a friend. Predominant is a sense of place.”

29. Clint Sanborn. “Hemingway Novel Judged Against His Own Best.” *St. Paul Pioneer-Press* (October 4, 1970).

“... ‘Islands in the Stream’ itself may be as good a novel as you will read all year. Still, you have to judge Hemingway against the rest of his work and this is not one of his best novels. In many ways it is not a novel at all. The book is divided into three sections—the first, ‘Bimini,’ is the best—and they do not hang together coherently. The main character is a painter, Thomas Hudson, who is more overtly Hemingway than any character he ever created and that is the main fault of the book: Hemingway was no longer able to keep his distance.”

30. Leonard Sanders. “Novel Lacks Final Effort.” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* (October 4, 1970).

“Portions of the sprawling, 466-page novel . . . are in the same league with his best efforts. Other portions are roughed out; a reader can sense where Hemingway at one time would have filled in the missing scenes with his unerring hand. Other portions are awry; the artist undoubtedly would have erased, and shaped the story more to his intention, if he had lived. . . . Where ‘Islands in the Stream’ leaves the autobiographical, it becomes what might have been, what should have been, if reality were to serve a dramatic purpose. And if there had been enough time,

and fewer personal distractions in Hemingway's final years, perhaps 'Islands in the Stream' would have become what he once hoped—the 'blockbuster' that would serve as the crowning achievement of his career."

31. Barbara Sudler. "Hemingway 'Island' Among His Top Works." *Denver Post* (October 4, 1970).

"If a forgery, as the whispers suggest, then the forger surpasses the master. It is a genuine pleasure to report that 'Islands in the Stream' is absolutely first class, vintage work, a triptych revealing a tripartite hero. . . . The unresolved puzzle is why Hemingway did not see fit to publish 'Islands in the Stream' during his own lifetime. . . . 'Islands in the Stream' is likely to be the best reading around with nervous tension and deep reach for the emotions that will set it aside for a long time to come."

32. Jacob H. Wolf. "Hemingway At Sea." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (October 4, 1970).

Islands is "very poorly written and much inferior to Hemingway's best achievements," for it is "obvious in this latest book that Hemingway indulged more excessively than in any of his previous works in the practice of inserting himself and his real life associates into the story. He was writing so close to his own life that he was dangerously on the brink of creating a hybrid, a non-fiction novel."

33. W. Emerson Wilson. "Hemingway's long-awaited novel." *Wilmington News [NC]* (October 5, 1970).

"This novel will not be rated among the best that Hemingway wrote but the old master was so adept at words there is little doubt about its being the best novel of the current season.

It is made up of three parts so disparate they do not hang together although each in its way has much that is admirable."

34. Review of *Islands*. *Monterey Park Californian* (October 8, 1970). "A book of various moods and a sense of humor."

35. M. Thomas Inge. "Hemingway's New Book Good But Not Great Work." *Lansing State Journal* (October 10, 1970).

"The novel is a pale reflection of Hemingway's cliché-ridden world of fist fights, hearty drinking, masculine, [sic] horse-play and sentimental camaraderie, where we mustn't mention certain things for fear of superstition or mouthing them to death, where

grief is worn like a delicate jewel, to be admired but not touched, where all the good things—liquor, girls, food and weapons—are (to use the most oft repeated adjective in the book) ‘wonderful.’ ‘Islands in the Stream’ belongs to Hemingway’s worst period and is no fitting work with which to conclude his canon. His true believers will, no doubt, admire it anyway, but others will find it the most boring book of the season.”

36. William MacPherson. “‘Unpublished’ Novel Of Hemingways Lacks Master’s Touch.” *Fort Wayne News-Sentinel* (October 10, 1970). *Miami Herald* (October 11, 1970). *Tulsa Sunday World* (October 18, 1970).

“True, there are occasional flashes of the old brilliance in the writing, but a lot more of the old flim-flam. The tried and true Hemingway themes—grace under pressure, the importance and meaning of being a man (even the fish are male here), the battles against insuperable odds—have been pulled out for another go but they refuse to make it around the course. In his best work, Hemingway transmuted this sort of material into art; in his worst he made it ridiculous. Unfortunately, this is his worst; and it should have been published [as] a volume of uncollected odds and ends, not as a major novel.”

37. Malcolm Bauer. “Final Hemingway novel ‘big’ but no giant.” *Portland Oregonian* (October 11, 1970).

“... this posthumous publication is big only in size. It does not add any dimension to Hemingway’s already solidly proportioned niche in American literature. In fact, it provides a springboard for those who would argue that Hemingway was never what his admirers said he was. . . . One must hold to the thought that Hemingway himself, granted both life and sanity, would not have permitted the publication of these fragments as a part of his approved works. It is a sad requiem.”

38. Richard Benke. “Hemingway’s ‘Lost’ Novel.” *Pasadena Star-News* (October 11, 1970).

“... Hemingway cannot correct its faults now, indeed perhaps he never could, and perhaps that frustration was among the causes of his death. The state of literature is such at this time that we are desperate for good work, faulted though it may be, and I

for one am grateful to Scriver's [sic] and to Mary Hemingway, the author's widow, for seeing to it 'Islands' was published."

39. Maurice Duke. "Papa's Last Novel Will Sell Well, But It Is Not Good Hemingway." *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (October 11, 1970).

"In the long run, 'Islands in the Stream' does not succeed primarily because it is a thinly veiled autobiography into which the author incorporates much of his own life, ultimately failing, however, to dramatize it effectively. . . . Another weakness of 'Islands in the Stream' is that the people in it often act out of character, thereby reducing their dramatic effectiveness. . . . Then there is the length of the book. . . ."

40. Gerald A. Elliot. "About That Big Book on the Sea. . . ." *Grand Rapids Press* (October 11, 1970).

"Many of Hemingway's major preoccupations over the years intrude in 'Islands in the Stream': his obsession with suicide, the victory-through-defeat theme, the lonely artist, the exaltation of the corrupted but pure . . . and universal guilt. . . . 'Islands in the Stream' could become the basis for a fascinating psychoanalytical study of Hemingway. But I can't believe that it will add a single cubit to its author's stature, although it does remind us in isolated passages of the Hemingway that was."

41. Charles A. Ferguson. "Hemingway 'Novel' Has Three Unrelated Parts." *New Orleans Times-Picayune* (October 11, 1970).

"This is Hemingway's long-awaited posthumous novel. It is not a novel in the popular sense. It lacks cohesion, a central theme, and characters who develop as the book progresses. The book is fiction in form only. The main character, Thomas Hudson, a middle-aged painter, clearly is Hemingway himself. . . . Except for the scenes with his sons, there is little of substance in this book, little to move the reader. Hemingway's greatest achievement was not so much what he wrote about but how he wrote it. 'Islands in the Stream' is the work of a great prose stylist past his peak. It will not enhance the literary reputation of Ernest Hemingway. It will, however, be gratefully accepted by his followers."

42. Laurence Goldstein. "From Hemingway's 'bank account.'" *Providence Sunday Journal* (October 11, 1970).

- “ ‘Islands in the Stream’ possesses the artfully spare dialogue and clean reportorial descriptions that will be Hemingway’s trademark forever. We know the psychological cost of Hemingway’s literary purity; in a sense the pressures of his craft drove him mad and killed him. We see the coming apart in this novel: the hesitations of Hudson, the inhibitions, the sense of futility and emptiness. But we see also the joy of work and the charm of good friendship. It is a novel that will outlast better novels not only because of its typical fine qualities, but because even its weaknesses have the attraction of its great and weak creator.”
43. E. R. Hagemann. “Ernest Hemingway: Ruins of a Great Career.” *Louisville Courier-Journal* (October 11, 1970).
 “This is a ghastly and ghostly ‘novel,’ the incomplete and unfinished and long-awaited ruins of a great career, foisted on the literary public by a profitable industry, Ernest Hemingway, Inc., Mary Hemingway, president and chief executive officer.
 Ghastly because in the *Fall of his Life* the prose was always there but it did not read good and true anymore. . . . Ghostly because in the *Fall of his Life* this writer now and then provoked from himself some shades of his greatness and when he was not cheating he saw the world whole and true. . . .”
44. Frederick Shroyer. “Ernest Hemingway’s Last Writings.” *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* (October 11, 1970).
 “. . . though there is some truly excellent writing to be found in this collection, some of it sustained for pages, ‘Islands in the Stream’ is as literature a most uneven, essentially fabricated collection, but one of immense historical and autobiographical importance, for here one sees above all else the Hemingway behind the self-created Hemingway image. Here, inadvertently one supposes, Hemingway reveals his insecurities, fears of becoming a rummy, his death-obsession, his fear that he may lose his powers, artistic, mental and physical.”
45. Marshall Terry. “Hemingway’s Tired Tune.” *Dallas Morning News* (October 11, 1970).
 “The final tragedy of Hemingway as an artist was that he stuck to the old tune and played it straight. In the end it rang very false in theme and style, as the old stoic began to dissolve back into the sentimental Romantic he always really was. ‘Islands in the Stream’

thus parodies the protagonist's humanity just at the crucial points where the writer must be hoping to redeem it.

If he could have found the crucial dimension of irony in his later years, perhaps Hemingway would have written well and truly again."

46. "The New Books." Seattle *Argus* (October 16, 1970).

"This newly published novel, written in the 1950s, should have never been published. Hemingway's last wife, Mary, put the manuscript into novel form, but the book will not add to the stature of a writer whose earlier works were the models of craftsmanship."

47. Olin Chism. "Posthumous Hemingway Scores." *Dallas Times Herald* (October 18, 1970).

"Straightaway let it be said that 'Islands in the Stream' is 100 per cent Hemingway, not the best that he ever wrote but a far cut above most of the fiction of today. Lest anyone have any doubts, it is also complete—maybe too complete, if you will, and therein lies its chief fault.

For 'Islands in the Stream' is in need of tightening up, of polishing and of editing. . . . But it is a significant novel and justifiably will be considered one of the major works of the year."

48. Bob Davis. "Hemingway—Stands Alone In American Literature." *Santa Rosa Press-Democrat* [CA] (October 18, 1970).

"Papa still merits his title, but he speaks for a past generation and you can envision the time when most of his novels, aside from *The Old Man and the Sea*, will be taken by the general public as entertaining period pieces, like the writings of Dickens. . . . But it's not a bad book, even for Hemingway, and it brings home the fact that, whatever Papa's ultimate place in American literature, there'll never be another novelist quite like him."

49. Paul Elder's Book Forum. "Let's Enjoy Hemingway." *San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle* (October 18, 1970).

"Because he was a literary giant, Hemingway's posthumous novel, 'Islands in the Stream,' has been dissected by some literary critics as they might in writing critiques of Christopher Marlowe for their PH.D. theses.

To hell with that, let's enjoy good old Ernest, regretting that he didn't have an opportunity to polish it, and admitting, per-

haps, that it could have done with a little editing, which Mary Hemingway and the publisher denied it."

50. Dick Grant. "A career ends with a whimper." *Riverside Enterprise* [CA] (October 18, 1970).

"Whatever the interest of the reader, 'Islands in the Stream' comes not as the flyleaf puff intimates, [as] the climax to a brilliant career, but rather as a feeble denouement [sic]—an attempt to reaffirm and recapture what has gone before. . . . Though a bit tarnished, the Hemingway themes are all present in 'Islands in the Stream.' The hero, courageous and lonely duty bound, is slowly torn down. The fearful wounds, the unresolved battles and the unfilled loves are also there. But because of the disjointed nature of the novel no one theme emerges as the dominant and unifying element."

51. Alan Pryce-Jones. "Post-Hemingway novel features 'doodled talk'!" *Lowell Sun* [MA] (October 18, 1970).

"Because Hemingway was a writer of genius he is never dull. The doodled talk is good doodling, and much of it is witty enough. But it does not shape into a novel. And the characterization is equally vague.

It is also familiar. The central figure, Thomas Hudson, is a very old friend indeed. . . . On balance, this sprawling, broken-backed book deserved to be rescued from oblivion, but more for the light it throws on Hemingway than for its intrinsic merit."

52. Archie Satterfield. "Hemingway legend lives in new book." *Seattle Daily Times* (October 18, 1970).

"Comparison with other Hemingway novels is inevitable, but the astute reader will avoid it. This is a novel that stands alone. It is a positive work. Its characters have great dignity. If things don't go well for them, they do not complain. . . . In this reader's opinion, Hemingway wrote three truly great novels: '**A Farewell to Arms**,' '**For Whom the Bell Tolls**' and this present book."

53. Lou Wojtech. "Papa's Printed Legacy Is A Summing Up Of A Lifetime Of Highs and Lows." *Olympia Olympian* [WA] (October 25, 1970).

"Somewhat of a summing up, **Islands** bears traces of Hemingway's earlier works, particularly **A Farewell to Arms**, but at

the same time reflects the maturity of *The Old Man and the Sea* and *A Moveable Feast*. The non-hero of **Islands** is Thomas Hudson, a hard-drinking, often lonely but always intelligent artist who serves very well as a symbol of what Hemingway was and what he might have liked to have been. . . . Written in the usual journalistic style, **Islands in the Stream** makes a fine ending to the career of a fine writer."

54. Review of *Islands*. *Playboy* (November 1970).

"There are moments in the action scenes that suggest the old—or, rather, young—Hemingway: an order and precision of detail that was the master's inimitable form of unuttered lyricism. But everything goes on and on and on. What was style becomes repetition. What was vision becomes tedium. . . . What made his work important was its vital inner vision. . . . His people were living postures assumed in defiance of death—like a bullfighter's flamboyant stance. We could accept that stance because real death opposed it. But Hemingway's last novel is mere show. *Islands in the Stream* is not so much parody as it is search, the search of the artist for his true source. The tragedy of the book lies in the author's heart-rending awareness that the source was forever lost."

55. Don Hatfield. "The Return Of Hemingway: Much To Consider." *Huntington Advertiser* [WV] (November 1, 1970).

"... there really isn't much new in 'Islands in the Stream' for the Hemingway reader. The themes—of boy becoming man, of man facing loneliness and death with dignity—have run throughout his fiction. The characters are familiar.

And, it isn't even good Hemingway. As a matter of fact, much of the time it reads as if it were written by someone impersonating, even satirizing Hemingway. . . . What makes 'Islands in the Stream' of interest is the autobiographical wanderings—and the simple fact that here is a book by one of our great writers, dead now nine years, and we've not had an opportunity to see it before."

56. Helen Haggie. "Some of Papa's Best." *Lincoln Journal & Star* (November 8, 1970).

"It has been rumored for years that the late Ernest Hemingway left a 'great novel' stashed away in a bank and that it would be

published posthumously. If **Islands in the Stream** is that novel, most Hemingway fans will be disappointed. . . . Perhaps Hemingway was in the process of producing a trilogy and in his latter illness could not finish it. For all of that, there are parts of the book which are the best of Hemingway's writing and parts which are not so good."

57. Michael J. Moran. "A Posthumous Hemingway." *South Bend Tribune* (November 8, 1970).

'Islands in the Stream' is the story of painter Thomas Hudson—the development of his fight for meaning after a stormy, undisciplined younger life and then his loss of the desire to live after several personal tragedies. . . . Hemingway has given us no insight into how a man can endure when his defenses are all broken down."

58. Catherine Hughes. "Hemingway's Coda." *Progressive* (December 1970).

"As a novel, it is neither especially good nor especially bad (though it has some extremely bad, self-indulgent moments). The scenes of physical action provide its triumphs, and the scenes of introspection provide its pretentiousness and occasional banality. The action and the reflection seldom interrelate; neither lends meaning or resonance to the other. The result is a fragmentation of the narrative and a diffusion of whatever may have been conceived of as the theme, something closer to three long short stories than to a unified and evolving novel."

Library Notes

GIFTS

Since the appearance of the Spring, 1977 issue of this journal the Library has received many valuable gifts. We note in particular the following interesting items: from Mr. and Mrs. Sylvan Buchman, fine folio editions of Samuel Beckett, Manuel Alvarez Bravo, and Robert Creeley, with etchings and photographs; from Mrs. Allan G. Chester, journals and other volumes, some from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from the library of her late husband, professor of English; volumes on the Orient from R. Douglas Cole, in memory of Mary Cole; A. C. Elias, Jr., a unique copy of the Earl of Orrery's *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Swift* (1751) containing sheets from a pre-publication printing; *Indian Tribes of North America* by Thomas McKenney from James E. Heckel, in memory of the class of 1914; an eighteenth-century volume from Mrs. Frederick L. Jones, in memory of her late husband, professor of English; Walther Kirchner, the business records of William Brandt Sons & Co., a London firm, on trade between London and Calcutta, 1872-1894; Mrs. William L. McLean, Jr., W. H. Pyne, *History of the Royal Residences* (London, 1819), with 100 colored engravings, and T. O. Churchill's *Life of Lord Viscount Nelson* (1808), with an autograph note by Nelson; the Philadelphia General Hospital, many volumes, including some pre-1830 American imprints; Robert L. Reiting, the autograph manuscript of an address by William Howard Taft on a World League of Peace delivered in Philadelphia in 1915; Daniel Schwartzman, books on architecture, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries; and from R. Stephen Uzzell, Jr., G. G. de Beaurieu, *Abrégé de l'histoire des insectes* (Paris, 1764), a text for the young by a follower of Rousseau.

Various other gifts were received from these members of the faculty, the administration, and trustees—many of them regular contributors: Otto Albrecht, Kanta Bhatia, Arthur I. Bloomfield, William W. Brickman, Phillip de Lacy, John W. Fraser, Peter Gaeffke, Shelomo D. Goitein, Ward H. Goodenough, Neal Gross, Werner Gundersheimer, Midori Hayashi, Rudolf Hirsch, Edward B. Irving, Jr., Maurice Johnson, Victor Lidz, Stanley E. Manwaring,

Michael Neiditch, Jeannette P. Nichols, Jean Piatt, Lawrence Schofer, Bernard G. Segal, Robert E. Spiller, Ann L. Strong, Henry Wells, Charles R. Whittlesey, Ernest J. Wilson III, Franklin B. Zimmerman. Among other donors we mention especially Carol P. Brainard, Joseph A. Chambeau, Walter de Gruyter, Inc., Rosina Feldman, Richard Foster, Institute for Palestine Studies, Jack Lord, Jerome J. Shestack, and Werner S. Zimmt.

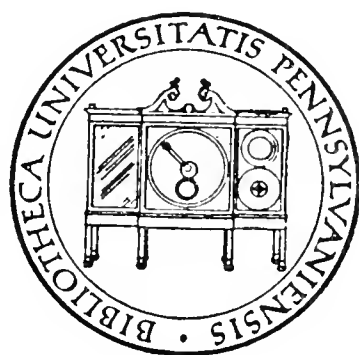
SELECTED PURCHASES

Following are some of the recent purchases made for the Special Collections, using funds given for that purpose over the years (including a portion of the Friends of the Library Fund). We list them to indicate, in some degree, the wide range of the material in these collections: five hundred printed documents relating to the government and politics of the Netherlands, 1718-1801; T. S. Arthur, *The Tried and the True*, Philadelphia, 1851, perhaps a unique copy of the first edition of this title by the prolific American novelist, best known for his temperance writings, including *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room*; five first editions of Waldo Frank's books to supplement the extensive holdings of Frank's papers in the Library; John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 4th edition (1688), the first with illustrations, full-page engravings after Sir John Baptist Medina. And three tracts on law and legal procedures, including discussion of libel and bankruptcy (Frankfurt and Ingolstadt, 1563-1566); two of the pamphlets are by Heinrich Knaust of Hamburg, lawyer and poet; such publications are very rare because they were so popular that most copies were used up.

The first appearance of Torquato Tasso's *Gierusalemme Liberata* was an unauthorized and incomplete edition published in Venice in 1580. A New York dealer who knew of our comprehensive Tasso collection secured a copy for us. The Library has, besides this 1580 edition, five of the seven editions printed in 1581, at Casalmaggiore, Lyons, Ferrara, Venice, and Parma. Also acquired within the past few months was a handsome copy of the funeral oration on Tasso (d. 1595) by Laelius Peregrinus (published at Rome in 1597), with a portrait vignette of Tasso on the title page.

LYMAN W. RILEY and JEAN M. GREEN

THE LIBRARY CHRONICLE



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phia, Pennsylvania 19104.

The Adulateur and How It Grew

GERALD WEALES*

WHEN Abigail Adams wrote to Mercy Warren on December 5, 1773, to let her know that "The Tea that bainfull weed is arrived," she was sure that the country's new misfortunes would be particularly distressing, "To you, who have so throughly look'd thro the Deeds of Men, and Develloped the Dark designs of a Rapatio Soul." The reference is to the villain-hero of Mrs. Warren's pamphlet-play *The Adulateur*, published anonymously earlier that year.¹ With Rapatio and his followers, caricatures of Thomas Hutchinson and his associates, Warren achieved the kind of success any satirist might envy. The names of her characters served as epistolary shorthand. Writing to James Warren, Mercy's husband, on April 9, 1774, John Adams, praising Mrs. Warren's satiric poem about the Boston Tea Party, piled compliment upon compliment until, catching his breath with a stream of ampersands, he stopped himself with "But I am almost in the strains of Hazelrod." That character's encomium to Rapatio fills Act iv, Scene 3 of the play. Sometimes the fictional labels could stand for their originals as in Samuel Adams's report to James Warren (January 10, 1774) that "Rapatio is now gone to Middlebrō to consult his Brother Hazlerod [Peter Oliver]!" It is even possible that it was Mercy Warren's play that led Samuel Adams, in a letter to Elbridge Gerry (November 14, 1772), to call some of the clergy "Adulators of our Oppressors."²

Because of quotations like these, it is tempting to overemphasize the immediate importance of *The Adulateur*, a temptation that grows the stronger when we remember that Mercy Warren's later play *The Group* (1775) was printed in various versions in several cities and that she is the most important, almost the only, woman literary figure in the Revolutionary War period. Yet, the lines quoted above, the only contemporary comment on *The Adulateur*, come from close personal and political friends of the author and probably represent their admiration for her more than the currency of her work. The

* Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania.

single printing of the pamphlet suggests a limited audience, hardly the national and international one reached by the more celebrated patriot pamphleteers, like Mercy Warren's brother, James Otis. Still, her play first appeared in the *Massachusetts Spy*, which—so its owner, Isaiah Thomas, later claimed—had a subscription list “larger than that of any other newspaper printed in New England.”³ Had she reached only the readers of the *Spy*, her play might have fulfilled the purpose for which it was designed.

The author's intention in the work was to use “Dramatic sketches . . . to strip the Vizard from the crafty.”⁴ Since the dialogue was a conventional pamphlet form at the time, the method was not completely innovative. Still it was unusual enough to make the means less familiar than the subject. Mrs. Warren's readers would have had no trouble recognizing the face behind the mask and would have found him the more amusing for being an old butt in new costume. Rapatio of Warren's play, like the Thomas Hutchinson found so frequently in the pages of the radical newspapers, was a public servant whose official persona disguised his private deviousness, a man driven by avarice and lust for power, dedicated to manipulation and surrounded by a group of partners in chicanery, many of them bound to him by ties of consanguinity or marriage.

This view of Hutchinson began to take shape after 1760 when, already lieutenant governor, he accepted an appointment as chief justice of the Superior Court. James Otis felt that the position belonged by right to his father on the promise of former governor William Shirley and that Hutchinson had meanly snared the post for himself. At least, Otis began attacking the new chief justice for “engrossing places of power and profit for himself, his family and dependents.” Hutchinson attempted to reduce Otis's political opposition to private animosity when, in *The Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter* (April 7, 1763), he cited anonymous “Gentlemen of undoubted veracity” who had heard “Mr. Otis the son” swear to “set the Province in a flame, &c. if his father should not be appointed.” Although Bernard Bailyn accepts Hutchinson's version of the chief-justice controversy, he recognizes that anti-Hutchinson sentiments were more than the resentment of the Otis family; his *Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* provides a sample of anti-Hutchinson invective (pp. 2–5), including a characterization (“very ambitious

and avaricious”) that John Adams recorded in the privacy of his diary.⁵ That accusatory double label was used publicly by the anonymous author of *A Dialogue between Sir George Cornwell, a Gentleman Lately Arrived from England . . . Mr. Flint . . .* (1769), who explains that “that meager Tall-Man”⁶ has “two passions that prevail with great strength; *ambition* and *avarice*.” Before the paragraph is finished he has also become “the masterpiece of human nature for *dissimulation* and *disguise*.” Certainly, by 1772 and the first appearance of Rapatio, Hutchinson was effectively unmasked so far as radical readers were concerned. Ambidexter compared him to Caesar and Oliver Cromwell in the *Boston Gazette* (November 18, 1771). The Caesar analogy was so persistent that Hutchinson’s brother-in-law, Andrew Oliver, who became lieutenant governor when Hutchinson was appointed governor in 1770 and who appears in *The Adulateur* as Limput, took the label seriously; writing as Freeman in *The Censor* (January 4, 1772), he quoted David Hume on a Rome so anarchic that “the greatest happiness which the Romans could look for, was the despotic power of the CÆSARS.” This unfortunate use of Hume may have gone directly into *The Adulateur* although it is Hazlerod, rather than Limput, who praises Rapatio: “like Cæsar, / You nobly scorn’d them all, and on the ruins, / Of bleeding freedom, founded all thy greatness.”

With Hutchinson and the two Olivers filling the three chief offices in the province and with Foster Hutchinson, the governor’s brother, newly elevated to the Superior Court, Otis’s old complaint about a family dynasty became the more credible. A note in the *Boston Gazette* (April 22, 1771) turned the accusation into a comic maze:

One of our Correspondents observing upon the Family Connection between the present Governor, Lt. Gov. and Judges of the Superior Court, says, His Excellency and his Honor married Sisters; his Excellency’s Son married his Honor’s Daughter; his Excellency has an own Brother lately advanc’d to the Superior Bench, and his Excellency’s Daughter was lately married to the Son of another of the Justices of that Bench; —His Honor has also an own Brother on the same Bench, and his Honor’s Son married the Daughter of another of the Justices of that Court. Besides, His Excellency’s own Brother is Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk, and *it is whispered*, that his Son before mention’d will soon be appointed a Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the same County.

His Excellency's nephew, Nathaniel Rogers, escaped the paragraph by dying before he could become secretary of the province; he was originally scheduled for the post when Andrew Oliver moved up to lieutenant governor, but the office went to a non-relative for a change, Thomas Flucker (Dupe of *The Adulateur*).

Hutchinson as the wily enemy remained a potent image even after the publication of the Whately letters (1773) forced him out of office and out of the country. His spirit hovers over *The Group*, in which some of the characters from *The Adulateur* reappear; in the year in which the first part of that play appeared in the *Boston Gazette* (January 23, 1775), the author's husband wrote to John Adams (October 20th) that Benjamin Church, whose secret correspondence with Boston had been discovered, "continues with great confidence, or rather impudence, to assert his innocence, and, against common sense and the most flagrant evidence, to pretend he was serving his country. This is, indeed, Hutchinson like. . . ." In her *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution*, published in 1805 but written much earlier, Mercy Warren offers an extended character of Hutchinson of which the following sentences are a representative sample:

He was dark, intriguing, insinuating, haughty and ambitious, while the extreme of avarice marked each feature of his character. His abilities were little elevated above the line of mediocrity; . . . he had . . . diligently studied the intricacies of *Machiavelian* policy . . .

Elsewhere in the *History*, Warren reminds herself that it is "an indispensable duty" of the historian "'to be candid where he can,'" using *candor*, as she always does, in the sense of fair, open-minded. In the Hutchinson passage, for all the author's strictures, the creator of *Rapatio* is so clearly visible behind the objective historian's vizard that no stripping away is necessary.⁷

The Adulateur, then, is essentially a propaganda pamphlet, ideologically a piece with the other publications of the pre-Revolutionary radical press. That it was more weapon than work of art can be seen in the fact that Mercy Warren's original sketches were "taken up and interlarded with the productions of an unknown hand." The note in the MHS manuscript goes on to say, "The *plagiarist* swelled the *Adulateur* to a considerable pamphlet." Although

the mixed authorship of *The Adulateur* has been known, at least since the publication of Alice Brown's *Mercy Warren* in 1896, it has been customary for historians—theatrical (Moses Coit Tyler, Arthur Hobson Quinn, Richard Moody), cultural (Kenneth Silverman) and general (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Bernard Bailyn)—for whom Mercy Warren is little more than a tiny fragment in a large mosaic, to assign the play to her and treat it as a single piece. For instance, Bruce Ingham Granger in *Political Satire in the American Revolution* calls it the best of Mercy Warren's three satirical plays in a description that presupposes that the action ("highly episodic") is hers, and Jean Fritz in *Cast for a Revolution* says a bit too enthusiastically that "it served its purpose admirably" as "a piece of rousing propaganda, a call to arms" in a paragraph that embraces the whole play. Even those writers who treat Mercy Warren at length—Alice Brown, Maud Macdonald Hutcheson, Katharine Anthony—make little attempt to separate Mercy Warren from her unknown collaborator.⁸

This quick tour through the Warren scholarship is not intended as condemnatory. There is no real reason why anyone should bother to sort out the contributors to *The Adulateur*. Its chief interest as a play is that it is one of the few early artifacts that a historian of American drama can point to and one of even fewer written by a woman. Although there may be a touch of asperity in Mercy Warren's use of "plagiarism," Bertolt Brecht has asserted that it is not the artistic integrity of a work, but its political utility, that is important; Brecht's question, had he ever heard of Mercy Warren, would be not what scenes did she write, but how effective was the piece, whom did it teach? What is more, it is virtually impossible, at this distance, to assign scenes with any verifiable certainty. Not that this last caveat need detain us; a healthy Elizabethan-drama industry, availing itself of the marketability of the good guess, has long since set it to rest. I acknowledge the two more serious reasons for sidestepping detailed analysis of *The Adulateur* only to ignore them. The paragraphs that follow will not make *The Adulateur* a better play or, retroactively, a more effective instrument of propaganda, but they may alleviate in me a fascination for Mercy Warren which, in an age of specialization, is almost unseemly in a critic of contemporary drama. In the process, they should say something useful about the play, the author, and the era.

The play takes place in a thinly disguised Boston. In its final form it begins in February 1770 when the agitation against those merchants who refused to abide by the nonimportation agreement had made "Importer" a dirty word, when painted hands began to appear on boards pointing accusingly at the shops of violators whose names appeared on the lists prepared by the Sons of Liberty. It ends early in 1772, at about the time the first installment appeared in the *Massachusetts Spy*. Conventional analysis would probably stick to historical chronology, to the linear development of the play, but I am more interested in the way *The Adulateur* took shape. For that reason, I want to look first at the play as it appears in the *Spy*, at those scenes which with very few changes would become the end of the pamphlet version—IV, 2 to Finis. Beginning at this point also helps clarify Mercy Warren's method as a dramatic satirist.

Although the more ambitious verse tragedies that Mrs. Warren wrote in the 1780s—*The Ladies of Castile*, *The Sack of Rome*—indicate that she was capable of constructing a linear plot, her satirical plays simply present a group of characters arrested at a moment in which a particular event and a dominant mood give the occasion for revelation of character. *The Defeat*, the new Rapatio fragments published in the *Boston Gazette* in 1773 (May 24th, July 19th), was occasioned by the patriots' acquisition of the Whately letters, which were circulated before their publication. *The Group* was a response to the Massachusetts Government Act of 1774 and the appointment of the mandamus councilors. The immediate impetus for *The Adulateur* was probably Hutchinson's official elevation to the governor's post, which he had held in fact if not in name since Sir Francis Bernard's departure for England in 1769; contributory to the tone of the piece was the general sense of malaise among the patriots, a deflation of the high radical afflatus of 1770 brought on by the acquittal of most of the soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre and the gradual disintegration of the nonimportation movement.

Mrs. Warren's choice of the presentational moment rather than the continuing action allowed her to use the literary talent for which she was most admired. "I was charmed with three Characters drawn by a most masterly Pen," John Adams wrote to her on January 8, 1776. "Copley's Pencil could not have touched off with more exquisite Finishings the Faces of those Gentlemen." Hannah Winthrop is

so enthusiastic about “the Portrait you give of General Washington” and the “Vitiated Persons . . . you present to view in the British Generals” that her letter (August 17, 1775) seems almost to reduce the opposing forces to a literary exercise.⁹ The *History* is filled with *characters*, neat thumbnail presentations of friends and enemies with the emphasis on the moral rather than the physical man. The prose characters of the letters and the *History* are generic cousins of the speeches in the satires in which the figures either draw their own portraits, as so many in *The Group* do, or describe others as Rapatio does Hazlerod in iv, 2. The analogy between Mrs. Warren’s characters and the speeches in her plays is made the more obvious by the fact that her people speak either in soliloquy or in dialogue that is not so much conversation as semi-detached blocks of verse-comment.

ADVERTISEMENT trumpeted the *Massachusetts Spy* on March 26, 1772, juggling the flamboyant typography so popular in the newspapers of the period, “To be exhibited for the entertainment of the public, at the grand parade in Upper SERVIA.” By this mock invitation to a non-existent performance, *The Adulateur* was introduced to the readers of the *Spy*. That it was not Mrs. Warren’s play that was being performed in Boston is made clear on the title page of the pamphlet edition where *The Adulateur* is described as “A *Tragedy*, As it is now acted in UPPER SERVIA”—not a generic label but a political comment. It is tempting to hear Servia as a conjuration of *servus* and the English *servile*,¹⁰ but Mrs. Warren’s decision to transform Massachusetts into Servia (Serbia) is an extension of the conventional use of Turkey as an archetypal despotism. George Washington described General Thomas Gage’s conduct in 1774 as “more becoming a Turkish bashaw, than an English governor”; but Gage himself, reacting to the legal harassment of his soldiers, had earlier complained that Boston justice “savours more of the Meridian of Turkey than a British Province.” Mercy Warren probably found her Turkish analogy closer to home; for James Otis, pretending proper respect for the current governor and council in *A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay* (1762), wrote, “I am verily persuaded, that we have had some Governors and some Councillors, since the revolution, that would gladly have been as absolute as Turkish Bashaws.”

Even if Mrs. Warren and her unknown collaborator have to share credit for the Turkish references (Captain Bashaw, Aga of the Janizaries, the Divan), she chose Serbia as setting. At this time Serbia was under Turkish domination, ruled by local functionaries of a distant tyranny. The analogy with Massachusetts provided a neat variation on a familiar bit of rhetoric. Years later, Warren was to write in her *History* that "by degrees all parliamentary decisions became as indifferent to an American ear, as the rescripts of a Turkish divan."¹¹

In introducing *The Adulateur* the *Spy* announced that it had "extracted . . . passages" from "A Dramatic performance, consisting of three Acts." The extracts begin with Rapatio's soliloquy (I, 1, which became IV, 2 of the pamphlet), written, as the whole play is, in unrhymed iambic pentameter. He begins, as a grand villain should, in exultation that his "deep laid schemes" have succeeded, that he is in a position "To quench the generous flame, the ardent love / Of liberty in SERVIA's free born sons, / Destroy their boasted rights, and mark them slaves." Which is to say that Thomas Hutchinson has been appointed governor. His commission was sent to him on December 7, 1770, and the *Boston Gazette* announced the news on December 31st; the scene presumably takes place in early 1771, shortly before Hutchinson's formal investiture on March 14th. The new governor is not simply a wily politician strengthening his base of power. Rapatio's is a deep-seated ambition; he "Suck'd the contagion from [his] mother's breast." The line suggests those self-proclaimed villains who walked the Elizabethan stage, but the more obvious echoes lie closer to home. In an unsigned article in the *Boston Gazette* (January 31, 1763), James Otis denounced the pseudonymous A.Z., whom the readers would have recognized as Hutchinson: "The Principles of arbitrary Power descend to him from his Ancestors; the Nourishment of a perpetual Dictator flow'd from his Mother's Breasts, and the Maxim *aut Caesar aut Nullus* was inscribed upon his swadling Bands."

For all his air of evil assurance, Rapatio—like his theatrical counterparts—finds his triumph spoiled by an unnatural bout of conscience. He is still in the middle of his catalogue of coming oppression when "But hark!—it groans! / The heaving struggles of expiring freedom! / . . . and I the guilty cause." The resonance is not simply literary. On March 27, 1770, beset by radical pressure after the Mas-

sacre, Hutchinson sent a letter of resignation as acting governor to London asking that someone "of superior powers of body and mind" be appointed governor.¹² His distress leaked to the opposition press and on April 9th, the *Boston Gazette* reported that "The TALL MAN (through some of his little tools) has lately given out that he has wrote home desiring he *may not* be appointed governor in chief." By the time the complications caused by Hutchinson's letter could be smoothed away and his commission sent to him, he had regained a degree of equanimity, but Mercy Warren's readers would certainly have been amused by a Rapatio who suffered some of Hutchinson's self-doubts.

"I dare not meet my naked heart alone," Rapatio says and decides to turn for comfort to "fawning courtiers, creatures of my own." There follows a character of Hazlerod, "a fribbling, superficial dabler, / A vain pretender to each learned science," which makes Samuel Adams's description of Peter Oliver as the "'lack-learning' Judge" almost benign. In her *History*, Mrs. Warren, clinging to her earlier idea of Oliver, describes him as "a man unacquainted with law, and ignorant of the first principles of government . . . a fit instrument to give sanction by the forms of law to the most atrocious acts of arbitrary power."¹³ Greeting Hazlerod at the end of his soliloquy, Rapatio says, "Thou firm abettor of my grand design! / Thou now canst cover what the world call crimes." The sentences suggest Peter Oliver's appointment as chief justice, but that was not to take place until early 1772 when Judge Benjamin Lynde, Jr. resigned. Lynde had moved up to the office on March 21, 1771 after Hutchinson, newly sworn in as governor, was forced to leave the bench.

Hazlerod's entrance at this point serves no dramatic and little satiric purpose. He enters and exits without a word, is an ear only to Rapatio's comment on some of his other "myrmidons." In the *Spy*, there is a note following Hazlerod's entrance, "*After a curious and very entertaining conversation, too lengthy to be here inserted, RAPATIO proceeds.*" If Mrs. Warren ever wrote that conversation, it has disappeared. Other than this brief non-encounter, there is no Rapatio-Hazlerod scene in the longer version of the play, no conversation that might have slipped out of its original position and lodged in another act.

In naming the members of his "venal herd," Rapatio labels each

of them with a single phrase. Gripeall, the “Captain Bashaw” of the *Dramatis Personae*, is “that minion of oppressive power.” Although most of Rapatio’s followers are clearly identified with their real life counterparts by office or by familial connection with the governor, Gripeall’s title is not so explicit. A note in the MHS manuscript identifies him as “Admiral Montague” and his one appearance in the 1773 edition of the play (IV, 1) seems, in the “I’ll cramp their trade” line, to confirm his naval position. Unlike the others, he is clearly the direct representative of the British forces in the colony. Dupe, whom Rapatio describes as “the ready tool of state,” is Thomas Flucker, an old Hutchinson confederate who became secretary of state when Andrew Oliver moved up to the lieutenant governor’s office. Responding to an early rumor about the coming appointments of Hutchinson, Andrew Oliver and Flucker, Lt. Colonel William Dalrymple, the commander of the British troops in Boston and thus presumably an ally of Hutchinson, wrote to General Gage, April 24, 1770: “I do not suppose they could have chosen three men more obnoxious to the people.”¹⁴

Limput (Limpet in the *Spy*) is “perjur’d only once,” a reference to a familiar accusation that the patriots made against Andrew Oliver. “[W]hat ought to be the punishment of the Secretary of a *legislative* Board, who shall have secretly and clandestinely deposed *falsehoods!*” asked Cyphax in the *Boston Gazette* (October 8, 1770). The Tory view of the matter is that at a council meeting the day after the Boston Massacre, March 6th, some of the councilors—particularly Royall Tyler—were so vociferous in their demands for the removal of British troops that they conjured up an incipient rebellion in the countryside and that on meeting the next day they erased the wild remarks from the minutes. Andrew Oliver, the secretary, sent a notarized account of the inflammatory council meeting to the ministry in London, where it was published in an appendix to *A Fair Account of the Late Unhappy Disturbance at Boston in New England* (London, 1770). The radical view of the affair was most forcefully stated by Junius Americanus (Arthur Lee) in an open letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, secretary of state for colonies, in *Bingley’s Journal* in London, June 29, 1771:

Mr. Oliver was Secretary to the Council when the late *memorable military massacre* was perpetrated in Boston. To take off the horror of this bloody

business, it was the object of administration, and of its creatures, to make it suspicious that an *insurrection* was intended by the people. The Secretary, therefore, framed some minutes of Council, in which he *perverted to their purpose* what one of the Members had said, and having *secretly sworn* to the truth of them, he, in concert with the present *guiltless Governor*, dispatched them, by no less a personage than a *Commissioner of the Customs*, to Lord Hillsborough.

When Lee's attack was reprinted in the *Massachusetts Spy* (October 17th) and the *Boston Gazette* (October 21st), from which the above quotation was taken, the council denounced the charge as "false, groundless and malicious" and *The Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* (November 14th) published Oliver's deposition. On October 28th, the *Boston Gazette* printed the council's denial and then dismissed it, asking this rhetorical question:

What must the conclusion be, but either that the deponent was a man of intellects so *weak*, and of so *ductile* a mind as to be perswaded by *artifice* to swear to he knew not what: Or else, that he knew what he was about, and was therefore guilty of *perjury*.

A note added to the unsigned article declared that only eight of the twenty-six councilors were present at the meeting in question. The simple phrase that dresses Limput carries this heavy freight of charge and counter charge. Junius Americanus was back in the pages of the *Spy* (April 3, 1772), a week after the publication of *The Adulateur*, reminding Hillsborough that "your Lordship's Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Oliver, stands recorded on the Council-books as a perjured traitor."

Although Rapatio says that he will call Gripeall, Dupe, and Limput to "Swell the parade" when he goes "for comfort" to the meeting of the Divan, the characters do not appear in any scenes in the *Spy* version of the play. Nor does Meagre, although he, like them, is listed in the *Dramatis Personae*. At most, they would be supernumeraries in the crowd scene ("*a procession of coaches, chariots, &c*") that opens the Second Act (iv, 3 in the pamphlet). This is a meeting of the Divan with Hazlerod presiding. Years earlier James Otis had called the council "an infernal Divan," but the council in 1771, except for the truncated version in the *Boston Gazette* note men-

tioned above, would hardly be designed to soothe an uneasy Hutchinson/Rapatio. Since the stage direction in the *Spy* describes the meeting place as the “Star-Chamber,” the Superior Court, which the radicals saw as Hutchinson’s instrument, may be intended. The scene is a celebratory one, in any case, probably that described by Judge Lynde in his *Diary*, “Gov^r Thomas Hutchinson and Lieut. Gov^r Andrew Oliver, Esq’s., commissions published; Judges in their robes, and all the Bar in their habbits, walked on procession.”¹⁵ Commenting on the event, four days later, the *Boston Gazette* (March 18, 1771) wrote, “The Particulars of the Parade upon this Occasion, for want of certain Intelligence, we are oblig’d for the present to omit.” Then came a large hand, finger pointing, recalling the accusatory signs of early 1770, and a list of patriot toasts given “On the 14th Instant . . . while the ridiculous Pageantry was exhibited in a late Theatre of Blood.”

If the *Gazette* lowered its eyes, so did the *Spy*, for all that exists of this scene is the stage direction, which describes Hazlerod’s speech as “*highly pleasing to the creatures of arbitrary power, and equally disgusting to every man of virtue.*” Although the 1773 version retains these descriptive lines, it gives Hazlerod’s “fulsome requiem’s,” as Rapatio calls them in the scene before. Hazlerod not only compares Rapatio to Caesar but to the gods in a passage which suggests that the author has *hybris* in mind even if Hazlerod is simply thinking of his own advancement. At one point Hazlerod says, “Yea while an infant, hanging at the breast, / With life, you largely suck’d the lust of power,” a passage that suggests a mixture of Rapatio’s earlier speech about being an ambitious suckling and an interesting line, “And lust of pow’r is still my darling lust,” which disappeared from Rapatio’s soliloquy between *Spy* and pamphlet. Perhaps Mercy Warren working quickly, simply rephrased the earlier lines—they are appropriate to Hazlerod’s speech—but the passage might be used to argue that the speech is not by Warren at all. Like most writers, she occasionally repeats herself (the verb *waft* haunts her work from her early poems to the *History*), but it is unusual for her to use the same phrase within a few lines. Hazlerod’s speech not only uses what sounds like a borrowing from Rapatio’s soliloquy, but it repeats “lust of power” within a short space. The problem of repetition and ascription will come up again in a consideration of a Rapatio scene

in the pamphlet. I mention it here, where the *Spy*'s promise of a Hazlerod speech strongly indicates that the scene is Warren's, to indicate how difficult it is to decide what in *The Adulateur* really belongs to her.

After the stage direction at this point, the *Spy* says, "We pass over several very interesting scenes in the second Act, and proceed to the third." We then get a soliloquy by Cassius, which, reassigned to Brutus, becomes v, 1 of the 1773 edition. Cassius, "*a virtuous Senator*," is the only patriot in the *Dramatis Personae* in the *Spy*. In the 1773 version there are four patriots listed by name, not counting the youth Marcus: Brutus, "Chief of the Patriots," Junius, Cassius, who is not the Cassius of the *Spy*, and Portius. The generalized designation *patriots* and the minimal characterization make it difficult to identify the Roman heroes with their Massachusetts counterparts. Unlike the satiric sections of the play, the Boston Massacre plot runs to high rhetoric and grand gesture, a response to events, not a depiction of the kind of personalized detail needed to evoke the mocking laughter of caricature. Arthur Hobson Quinn does attempt specific designations in *A History of the American Drama*; thus James Otis becomes Brutus and John Adams, Cassius—roles they still play in so recent a study as Kenneth Silverman's *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*—and Samuel Adams, as Junius, "speaks as an older man."¹⁶ Although Adams was an older man, the three years he had on Otis would hardly have made him "totter with a weight of years," as Junius says of himself in ii, 3. Politically, it was Otis who had become a totterer by 1770. After he was injured in 1769 in a coffee-house brawl with customs commissioner John Robinson, Otis, who was always a little erratic, became increasingly unstable. He was still active in politics; but sometimes, as in the quarrel in 1771 over the governor's power to convene the general court where he wanted, Otis sided with Hutchinson against Samuel Adams. He was certainly no "Chief of the Patriots" by then, probably not even in the eyes of his sister.

The Brutus of the 1773 version of the play is almost certainly Samuel Adams. In iii, 1, after the Massacre, the patriots gather, under Brutus's direction, in a scene which suggests the meeting at Faneuil Hall in which a committee, headed by Adams, was sent to Hutchinson with a demand for the removal of British troops from

the city. It is not the characterization of Brutus, then, but his role in the depicted events that makes the identification with Samuel Adams possible. Even that identification is called somewhat into doubt by a touching note on Otis in the MHS manuscript which says that in "these occasional extracts he appears in the Character of Brutus." The note accompanies a manuscript copy of Cassius's soliloquy, complicated by the fact that the speaker is called Brutus. Since the notes were clearly written long after the play was printed, the name from the pamphlet version could easily have made its way into a manuscript containing the *Spy* fragments. Mercy Warren might well have wanted to honor her brother through the figure of Cassius in the *Spy*, but once the "unknown hand" got to the play and transformed the "virtuous Senator" into the "Chief of the Patriots," the character ceased to be James Otis. It is difficult to identify Otis, vacillating between Hutchinson and the radical cause, with any of the Roman figures in the extended version of *The Adulateur*.

The soliloquy in the *Spy* is a lament: "O my poor country!" Cassius, like Rapatio, assumes that the evil governor has won, that he has taken "The manacles prepar'd by BRUNDO's [Bernard's] hand," and "with more fatal art, / . . . has rivetted beyond redress." The British troops, which arrived in Boston in 1768 at Bernard's request, are the most obvious reading of Brundo's "manacles," but the author may want to suggest the new instructions that accompanied Hutchinson's commission as governor. Among other things, they gave the crown rather than the colony—the British troops rather than the local militia—command of Castle William in Boston harbor and made meetings of the council contingent upon the governor's approval. If Isaac Smith, Jr. is correct, these are also Brundo's "manacles"; he wrote John Adams, September 3, 1771, that it was not Lord Hillsborough but "Governor B who has been the dispenser of instructions . . . with regard to the affairs of Massachusetts."¹⁷ By October 14th, Candidus (Samuel Adams) was denouncing these new restrictions in the *Boston Gazette*.

No Samuel Adams firebrand, Cassius calls not for political action ("now too late") but for the "pow'rs divine" to "bring them to account." Whether Mercy Warren is reacting to something specific—the new instructions, Hutchinson's repeated proroguing of the assembly in 1771 and 1772—she is reflecting a radical malaise that

was even closer to home than the reading of Cassius as James Otis suggests. On March 25, 1771, Samuel Adams, in an apparent attempt to buck up James Warren, chided him ("when you *once* spoke the Language of Despair, allow me to tell you, it gave me offence") and assured him that although Hutchinson might have "Caesars Ambition and Lust of Power" (the phrase was in the air), he had not "Caesars courage." Warren admitted (November 8, 1772) that "After I left Boston for so long a time and heard of no steps taken as proposed when I was there, I must own my sanguine Hopes were succeeded by a despondency Bordering on despair," and Adams (December 9th) urged "*Nil desperandum*." If Cassius's speech reflects the patriot mood in general and the Warren fireside in particular, it also carries the weight of Mercy Warren's sense of the world and the human condition. Despite her strong protestations of replenishing Christianity, her republican beliefs, her insistence on public virtue, her hopes for the American future, the writings of Mercy Warren are shot through with a feeling for the decay of men and nations, apparent in works as different as a conventional poem like "To a Young Lady, On shewing an excellent Piece of PAINTING, much faded," and the *History* in which the more lugubrious of the "Moral Observations" assume that virtues grow "with civilization, until refinement is wrought to a height that poisons and corrupts the mind." It is ironic that Mercy Warren, as satirist and political propagandist, infects her work with a negativism which she, as a reasonable woman, would almost certainly have disclaimed, and that it touches rebel and Tory alike, not only Cassius and Rapatio, but many of the characters who turn up in *The Group*.¹⁸

Cassius describes Rapatio as "a wretch, who dare[s] enslave, / A generous, free and independent people," a reasonably mild denunciation compared to the words of the patriots in the expanded play who continually rattle the vocabulary of chains and tyranny. In the context of the public oratory and newspaper comment of the time such words are commonplace. It is more interesting that speeches such as that of Cassius echo private as well as public rhetoric. "If we are to be slaves," James Otis wrote his sister, April 11, 1766, "the living have only to envy the dead, for without liberty I own I desire not to exist here." Samuel Adams to James Warren, November 27, 1772: "You know the Tories have a 'scurvy trick of

lying' to serve the Purposes of Despotism." An exasperated Thomas Hutchinson complained to former governor Thomas Pownall, March 8, 1766, that "it is the universal voice of all people, that if the Stamp Act must take place we are absolute slaves"; he told Richard Jackson a story about a "servant" who was afraid to go to the barn at night for fear the Stamp Act would get him.¹⁹ When the first scenes from *The Adulateur* appeared in the *Spy*, then, they were reflecting rather than creating patriotic sentiment.

On April 23, 1772, the *Massachusetts Spy* published two more scenes from *The Adulateur*, which were to become the last two scenes (v, 2 and 3) of the 1773 edition. If the MHS manuscript contains the only scenes written by Mercy Warren, the "plagiary" has already begun. If the new *Spy* scenes are part of the original Warren version and if they belong in the first act, as the introductory note in the *Spy* says, the play, as conceived, ends not with the modified hope of the Cassius–Marcus scene (Brutus–Marcus in v, 3), as the expanded play does, but with the lament of Cassius discussed above.

The *Dramatis Personae* in the March 26th *Spy* lists Ebenezer, "a friend to Government," among the characters (in the pamphlet he becomes E——r). It is this character who opens the first of the new scenes. He is Ebenezer Richardson, who was found guilty of killing eleven-year-old Christopher Seider (Snider in some of the records) on February 22, 1770. A customs informer since the 1750s, Richardson was, in John Adams's words, "the most abandoned wretch in America." The Town of Boston, under James Otis's signature, but in the words of Samuel Adams, called him "a Person of the most infamous Character," and complained that he was "such an one as was never encouragd under any Administration but such as those [of] Nero or Caligula."²⁰ On the fatal day, Richardson, from whatever motivation, tried to tear down an accusing sign posted outside the shop of Theophilus Lillie, a merchant who not only defied the nonimportation agreement but took to the press to defend his position. Richardson managed only to divert the crowd—mostly schoolboys apparently—from Lillie's to his own house. There, after an exchange of threats and a battery of stones, he fired into the crowd and wounded the Seider boy who happened to be in the line of fire. Over the protests of the crowd, who seemed to prefer a quick hang-

ing, he was rescued by William Molineux, who probably recognized a politically useful crime when he saw one, and after the death of Seider that evening Richardson was charged with murder. After a series of delays, occasioned in part by the Boston Massacre and in part by judicial reluctance, a jury, on April 21st, ignoring Peter Oliver's description of the event as justifiable homicide, found Richardson guilty of murder ("the poor verdict of some half form'd peasants," Hazlerod calls it in *The Adulateur*). Meeting again in September, the judges examined the jurors and found that one of them, reluctant to vote *guilty*, had been persuaded when his fellow jurors convinced him that the judges would somehow save Richardson's life. Unable to countermand a jury verdict and unwilling to pronounce the only possible sentence—death—the judges once again postponed the sentencing. More than a year later, on March 5, 1772, the *Massachusetts Spy* ran a notice, rich in typographical declamation, that not only asked readers to remember "The HORRID MASSACRE!" but also to

BEAR IN REMEMBRANCE

That on the 22d day of February, 1770,

The infamous

EBENEZER RICHARDSON, Informer,

And tool to Ministerial hirelings,

Most *barbarously*

MURDERED

CHRISTOPHER SEIDER,

An innocent youth!

Of which crime he was found guilty

By his Country

On Friday April 20th, 1770;

But remained *Unsentenced*

On Saturday the 22d day of February, 1772

When the GRAND INQUEST

For Suffolk county,

Were informed, at request,

By the Judges of the Superior Court,

That EBENEZER RICHARDSON's Case

Then lay before His MAJESTY.

Therefore said *Richardson*

This day, MARCH FIFTH! 1772,

Remains UNHANGED!!!

A few weeks later, on March 28th, *The Censor*, the journal founded by Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver, ran an article praising the judges in the Richardson case for their “unparalleled impartiality, firmness, and perseverance”; this article and a second one on April 4th, both written by a purportedly disinterested D.W., recount the official version of the case. The sentiments of Mrs. Warren and her readers belong with the exclamatory notice.

On March 10th, “the Honourable JUDGES of the Superior Court,” as the March 28th *Censor* article called them, discharged Richardson from “his long confinement” on bail and, according to the *Boston Gazette* (March 16th), “The murderer fled with precipitation and crossed the ferry before the inhabitants were informed of it.” *The Adulateur* scene takes place before that development; for it opens with Ebenezer alone in his prison cell, contemplating his sad situation and ruminating, like Mercy Warren, on the vanity of desire for “Honors, places, pensions”: “The wretch that feasts himself on promises, / Pursues a phantom, and but grasps at air.” When he voices resentment at “Ye who encourag’d me with hopes of pardon, / To glut *your* vengeance, for the cause was *yours*,” the author is depicting Richardson as the “tool to Ministerial hirelings” the *Spy* notice proclaimed. A man named George Wilmot had gone home with Richardson on the night of the shooting and, like Richardson, he threatened to fire on the crowd. Although he was later found not guilty of any charges, the *Boston Gazette* on February 26, 1770, called him “the Accomplice” and announced that “It is confidently reported that Wilmot was employed by ———, to act a Part with the INFAMOUS RICHARDSON, in a late tragical Affair.” The assumption was that he had brought a letter from the customs commissioners directing Richardson to break up the demonstration at Lillie’s. On March 5th, the *Gazette* printed a communication from the commissioners denying all connection with Richardson and Wilmot; but, since the publisher has the last word, the *Gazette* refused to credit the denial. Although the rumored plot was so amorphous it never figured in Richardson’s trial, it stayed alive enough to give resonance to Ebenezer’s lines and to explain why Hazlerod comes to comfort him.

Hazlerod sounds less like a ministerial plotter than an old-fashioned ranting villain when he says, “when S——r bled, / We snuff’d the

rich perfume, the groans of youth. / Gods! they were musick in our ears,” and looks forward to further “pleasing scenes of blood and carnage.” In the *Spy*, Hazlerod, insisting that Richardson will be protected, lists those who will aid the cause: “old tottering FEEBLE, / Whose age is strengthened only by his crimes”; “witty LAULIES, . . . / Fortune’s light bubble” and “cautious LATITAT, / Whose soul ne’er knew one generous sen[t]iment.” It is tempting to reach back to John Cushing, Benjamin Lynde, and Edmund Trowbridge, who officiated with Peter Oliver at the original Richardson trial, if only to find a proper “old tottering Feeble” in either Cushing or Lynde, both of whom had been on the bench since the 1740s. By early 1772, however, the old men had retired to be replaced by Nathaniel Ropes and Cushing’s son William. Foster Hutchinson was on the court by this time, too, but a broadside published by Isaiah Thomas in 1772 seems to blame Ropes (“*new made Ropes*” like “*old Lines*” failed to hang the villain), Cushing and Trowbridge (“*The Bridge of Tories*”) for Richardson’s release. It is difficult to fit judge to character, although Trowbridge, whom Hutchinson found, in Hiller B. Zobel’s words, “even more timid and unreliable [than Lynde] in the face of pressure,” might seem to suit Latitat’s adjective. When the play went into pamphlet form, only Latitat (now spelled *Latat*) remained of the original three names, while “decrepid Meagre / In whom a passion of revenge is virtue” was added to the list; the “decrepid” is probably an echo of the vanished Feeble rather than a description of Foster Hutchinson, who was not yet fifty at the time. The governor’s brother, whom Mercy Warren in her *History* called “a man of . . . little public virtue . . . remarkable for nothing but the malignancy of his heart,” had been a favorite radical target since 1765 when, newly appointed judge of probate in Suffolk County, he insisted on acting within the terms of the Stamp Act. Although the caricatured figures varied between editions, both versions confirm the radical contention that the Superior Court was acting extralegally in the Richardson case and that Governor Hutchinson was somewhere in the background pulling his puppets’ strings.²¹

The other scene in the April 23rd *Spy* is the Cassius–Marcus dialogue which, although less negative than Cassius’s soliloquy, is far from a call to arms. In form, it is an advice-to-the-young-man scene; in fact, it is another catalogue of Hutchinson’s crimes, from dissembling

(“Who would have thought, beneath an air of virtue, / . . . / Should lurk such baseness”) to murder. The wise old patriot, teaching by opposites, tells Marcus (the character does not appear in the *Dramatis Personae* of the March 26th *Spy*) that if he wants to succeed, to be “great and powerful,” he must “be a rascall. / Stoop low and cringe.” The young man predictably chooses to “live a poor man, / And die so too.” Although Cassius teaches his lesson about the antique virtues, he has no specific suggestions to deal with Rapatio. Marcus may be willing to “bare [his] bosom, / And pour [his] choicest blood,” but the most Cassius can offer is a distant future in which “thy sons like heroes, / Shall dare assert thy rights,” when the villains are “Crush’d in the ruins they themselves” have made. The scene ends in a burst of rhymed couplets, looking toward a paradisaal future, a natural not a political setting, where “on the mind successive pleasures pour, / Till time expires, and ages are no more.” The line (in the pamphlet but not in the *Spy*) and the sentiment are conventional, but they are also characteristic of Mercy Warren. Although she was one of a group of men and women who sought immediate redress of specific wrongs, her poetic and philosophic vision regularly carried her beyond the finite and inescapably corrupt world to a presumably comforting eternity. One might expect a poem like “On a Survey of the Heavens” to finish with the expiration of “time and death,” the ushering in of “eternal day,” but the *History*, too, ends with the final judgment of “the Divine Œconomist” when “there shall be time no longer.”²²

When *The Adulateur* was published in 1773, it had turned into a five-act drama and found a suitable epigraph from Joseph Addison’s *Cato*, calling for “resolution, friendship, Roman bravery,” the good old virtues to be treasured “While yet our liberty and fates are doubtful.” Although *Cato* (1713) is a political play of sorts, embraced by both the Tories and the Whigs, it is primarily a love-versus-duty drama, very different from *The Adulateur*. The new plot added to Mercy Warren’s satire might be described as a play about building a revolutionary force. We see the patriots moved by events, growing in resolution, while Brutus, their chief voice and wisest head, alternately urges them on and holds them back. There is some attempt to turn Brutus into a complex character. At the beginning of II, 3,

for instance, he has a conventional philosophic speech, rich with mixed metaphor, about the fate of man ("light tennis ball of fortune"), doomed to "wanton in the sun shine of an hour" and fail to see "the various ills behind the scene." This is theatrical nonsense, of course, for, however short-lived man might be, in this play he could hardly avoid the ills which march relentlessly across the stage / page calling good men to action. The events are reported rather than depicted since the author is more concerned with the rhetorical response to what happens than to the disasters themselves. The pattern is so set—discussion or soliloquy interrupted by fresh bad news—that it would be comic if it were taken as anything other than a presentational device.

Although couched in exaggeration—propaganda going for tears or outrage instead of the mocking laughter of the *Rapatio* scenes—the references are to real events in the Boston of 1770. In I, 1, Brutus and Cassius, discussing the unhappy state of the land where "th'insulting soldiers / Tread down our choicest rights; while hood-wink'd justice / Drops her scales," are joined by Junius and by Portius, who describes "a piece of pageantry, / Near *Imports* mansion, big with mighty meaning." This is a demonstration against one of the merchants who refused to abide by the nonimportation agreement, perhaps the specific one mentioned by the *Boston Gazette* (February 26, 1770) in its account of the shooting of Christopher Seider: "A Number of Boys had been diverting themselves with the Exhibition of a Piece of Pageantry near the House of *Theophilus Lillie*, who perhaps at this Juncture of Affairs may with the most Propriety be describ'd by the Name of an IMPORTER." In II, 1 we get "That wretch, that cursed E——r, / Whom long this country blush'd to own her son—" hurling "thro' the croud promiscuous death and slaughter—" At this point, Brutus must calm Portius, who wants to take matters into his own hands, convinced that "*Rapatio's tools*, mere *creatures* of the tyrant" will "vilely wrest the law, / And save the villain." Brutus calls his followers out at the end of the scene to join in "the funeral pomp" for the boy, a restrained enough description of the rather marvelous, politically effective funeral procession described in the March 5th *Gazette*: "About Five Hundred School Boys preceded; and a very numerous Train of Citizens followed, in the Estimation of good Judges at least Two Thousand of all Ranks,

amidst a Crowd of Spectators." In II, 3, Brutus's ruminations on the weakness of man are interrupted with news of the Boston Massacre. One would hardly expect the author of this play to conjure up the picture of a small band of soldiers, frightened and angry, surrounded by a taunting mob, but not satisfied with "Th'inhuman soldiers," streets sweating "with human gore" and "the groans of innocence," she/he offers us a classic propaganda figure, the "little innocent, / Whose quiv'ring tears might make e'en Nero weep," clinging to "the rough knees of the inhuman ruffian," who, ignoring his cries for pity, does the child in with a saber. The press of events finally forces the patriots to action, if not the violent action that so often fills their mouths in earlier scenes. After II, 3a,²³ the funeral of the Massacre victims, the patriots meet in "*A spacious Hall*" (III, 1) and call for the withdrawal of the soldiers; in III, 3, Brutus learns that their demand has been accepted although Rapatio, ever in character, reports the decision as his own attempt "*To heal these wounds and save my bleeding country.*"

Given that *The Adulateur* is essentially an inflammatory pamphlet, the catalogue of lightly disguised real events should have been enough to serve its purposes, to whip its patriots—and perhaps its readers—into a fine frenzy of virtuous action. The author has certain literary pretensions, however, and knows that no revenge tragedy worth its rhetoric can function without a ghost. Even in the very proper *Cato*, Sempronius says, "Great Pompey's shade complains that we are slow, / And Scipio's ghost walks unrevenged amongst us!" *The Adulateur* begins in the *Cato* vein when Cassius, in I, 1, recalls "our noble ancestors" and wonders what they would make of their beleaguered land should they "Start from their tombs." In II, 1, he reports that "My father's ghost burst on my startled fancy," and by II, 3, it is Brutus who sees avenging spirits ("or is it merely fancy?"): "Methinks yon rising ghost stares full in view, / Points to its wounds and cries aloud—REVENGE." By III, 1, *Hamlet* has completely displaced *Cato*, and "*a GHOST with naked breasts exposing his wounds*" appears in the stage directions. This is Faneuil Hall, however, and not the battlements of Elsinore; so the best the ghost can do is speed the resolution on the removal of the troops. Whether one follows the ghost story or sticks to the intensifying crises brought on by events, this scene is the climax of the plot that has been leading the

patriots toward commitment and III, 3 is the celebration ("what a burst of joy was that") of their new triumphant position. That scene has an end-of-the-play sound to it, but the new material is followed by the scenes that have already been in the *Spy*. There is an inevitable dip in spirits, a drop from Brutus's joy to the "O my poor country!" of v, 1. The joining of the disparate elements is aesthetically unsound—the disruption of the build in patriot fervor—but it is historically accurate. By 1771, the enthusiasm of the year before had been milked away by inaction, uncertainty, internecine differences, and the stage was set not for the political melodrama of the Faneuil Hall meeting but for the "*Tragedy, As it is now acted in UPPER SERVIA.*"

I have been writing about the patriots in the first three acts of the 1773 version of *The Adulateur* as though they were not Mercy Warren's creation. Nor are they, I think. It is not simply a matter of the obvious contrast between the set satirical sketches and the developing plot, but between the patriot scenes in the first part of the play and those taken from the *Spy*. Portius, moved by the death of Seider, cries out, "I'd cut my way thro' all—and this my sword / Drench in the tyrant's blood, then on the pile / Of bleeding freedom, pour the rich libation." Again, after the Massacre, he says, "This unstain'd guiltless dagger / Shall sweat with blood, and rust with humane gore." It is true that he is the most combustible of the patriots and that Brutus has to restrain him, but blood flows from all the patriot mouths, invoking revenge, destruction, violence. By comparison, in the *Spy* the original Cassius's "crush, crush these vipers" or his swords that "pave a way to conquest" are almost genteel. Mercy Warren may be able to put vicious speeches into the mouth of Hazlerod (if v, 2 is her scene) and she can find enough blood to decorate her tragedies of the 1780s, but more than decorum is operating against her as the author of the violent revenge speeches of *The Adulateur* enlarged. Committed though she was to the cause of liberty, she was appalled by the fact that it was leading to civil war. Cassius, in the scene with Marcus, does see a time when "murders, blood and carnage, / Shall crimson all these streets," but he cries out "forbid it heaven!" The Lady who speaks the final lines of *The Group*, which was written shortly before Lexington and Concord, accepts the necessity of war but with "weeping eyes" rather than

rodomontade. For a book about a celebrated war, the *History* is shot through with pacifist statements. In her opening Address she says she was drawn to the subject by the “solemnity that covered every countenance, when contemplating the sword uplifted, and the horrors of civil war rushing to habitations not inured to scenes of rapine and misery,” and even after the Massacre she says that “American bosoms” still had “the feelings of compassion, which shrunk at the idea of human carnage.” There is a difference between unmasking a villain and calling for a sword to run him through.²⁴

If the patriot scenes are plainly not Mrs. Warren’s, what of the new Rapatio scenes? None of them may be hers, but the use of the verb “interlarded” in the note on “plagiarism” suggests the possibility. I would rule out II, 2 and III, 2 as too obviously plot scenes. In the first of these, Bagshot, the “Aga of the Janizaries,” who is not in the *Spy Dramatis Personae*, complains to Rapatio of “the dirty scoundrels” who “Abuse my men.” This is presumably Colonel Dalrymple, who was in command of the troops stationed in Boston. Rapatio’s “remember you are soldiers” and Bagshot’s “I’ll give those orders, which I *dare not* do / By *my* mere motion” (the British troops were under specific orders not to fire without the permission of civil authorities) suggest that the Massacre was a planned attack. The idea was not unfamiliar in radical circles. *A Short Narrative Of The Horrid Massacre in Boston* (1770), the account written by James Bowdoin, Joseph Warren, and Samuel Pemberton at the request of the town meeting, is full of depositions in which expectation becomes premeditation as every casual remark of a soldier, predicting violence, begins to sound like evidence. The reluctant Bagshot of II, 2 is ready to cut and run by III, 2. That scene—really two scenes in one—shows Rapatio first facing senators who either fear or respect the “people’s fury” and then turning to Bagshot, who sums up his position with “*Honor* says, stand—but *prudence* says, retire.” The scene reflects the events of the day following the Massacre when the council and Colonel Dalrymple joined forces to persuade Hutchinson to get the troops out of Boston. Ironically, Dalrymple’s attempt to find a way of acceding to the radical demands (if Hutchinson would “desire” rather than “order” the removal of the troops, he would comply) becomes Bagshot’s act of cowardice.²⁵

The other Rapatio scenes (I, 2; III, 4; IV, 1) are less obviously inte-

gral to the Massacre plot, but that is hardly a reason to assign them to Mercy Warren. The strongest argument in her favor is that they present characters listed in the *Spy* *Dramatis Personae* who do not appear elsewhere in the play. In I, 2, it is Dupe (Thomas Flucker), who turns up at the end of the scene to give Rapatio a sounding board for his remarks about “*Creatures of my own*” with which he controls the government—the “*b——li*” which “would mangle law and reason,” the soldiers and “*P——p,*” who is in a position to stay proceedings. The latter is clearly Jonathan Sewall, who is discussed in his role as attorney general but designated by the name Philanthrop, the pseudonym he used to defend the Massacre trials from the attack of Vindex (Samuel Adams). Not simply a silent device, like Hazlerod in IV, 2, Dupe is given a few lines in which he congratulates Rapatio on his actual if not formal elevation to “the chair of power” and hopes that “When Brundo quits” he will “think on former friendships.” This speech which tempers the self-congratulation of Rapatio’s opening soliloquy, places the scene after Governor Bernard’s departure from Massachusetts (1769) and before Hutchinson’s commission arrived at the end of 1770, which means before Flucker’s appointment as secretary of state. The brief discussion of the political situation (“they say these muttering wretches, / Grow fond of riot, and with pageantry, / Do ridicule the *friends of government*”), echoing the patriots’ remarks in I, 1, places the scene shortly before Richardson’s shooting of Seider. Yet the “*Creatures*” passage plainly looks back from the Massacre trials and so seems out of place in the developing plot about the Massacre.

Nor does the scene seem appropriate to Mercy Warren’s original concept of *The Adulator*, for it opens with a Rapatio soliloquy that tries, less successfully, the kind of self-definition found in his initial appearance in the *Spy* version. In celebrating his new power in I, 2, Rapatio plans to “trample down the choicest of their rights” to punish the “patriots” for having once destroyed his home. The “gloomy night” that Rapatio recalls came during the Stamp Act riots in 1765 when “the Mob of Otis & his clients plundered Mr. *Hutchinsons* House of its full Contents, destroyed his Papers, unroofed his House, & sought his & his Children’s Lives, which were saved by Flight.” The words are Peter Oliver’s, from *Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion*, which he wrote in exile but not in tranquility,

and their intensity suggests that Hutchinson and his friends carried the scars of the 1765 violence into their political behavior in the 1770s. It is one thing, however, for Hutchinson to have kept the memory of the mob alive, and quite another for the author of *The Adulateur* to have given Rapatio revenge as a motive. Warren let the Rapatio of *The Defeat* recall his "shatter'd habitation" and name "revenge" with "wild ambition . . . pride . . . avarice" as shapers of his cruel policies,²⁶ but the introduction of such a motivation into *The Adulateur* softens the self-portrait of the original soliloquy, brings in a note of justification even though the scene ends with Rapatio's image of himself as Nero, singing over a burning Rome. The conflicting soliloquies make the scene doubtful as Mercy Warren's work, a conclusion that is underlined by the lines "Whatever gilded prospects / E'er swam before me—Honor, places, pensions," so obviously lifted from the Ebenezer soliloquy ("Where are now all the gilded airy prospects / That swam before me—Honors, places, pensions") already discussed as Warren's work. I suspect the scene comes from the "plagiary" hand and that it reflects both the author's need to introduce Rapatio early in the play and his indifference to the character as a satiric figure, one who steals time from both his plot and his radical rhetoric. Still, there is the troubling presence of Dupe.

After Rapatio has announced the withdrawal of the troops and Brutus has hailed the event, the villainous ruler meets in III, 4 with his associates to plan ways of regaining power while the patriots "amuse themselves with thoughts of freedom." This is the scene that most suggests Mercy Warren's other satirical work, for Limput, Meagre and P——p all condemn themselves through their own speeches as the characters will later do in *The Group*. Limput agrees to swear to anything that Rapatio wants, becoming the "virtuous LIMPET perjur'd only once" of the initial scene in the *Spy* version—the radicals' guilty Andrew Oliver whom I discussed at length above. Although eighteenth-century spelling is too haphazard to prove anything, it is interesting that the character's name is spelled Limpet in the initial stage direction of the scene, as it is in the *Spy* version of the play, although he is Limput everywhere else in the pamphlet. Meagre's characterization of himself as "haughty, sour, implacable, / . . . mean and base" suggests the *malignancy* label Mercy Warren hung on him in the passage from *History* quoted above. P——p

is something of a problem, for he does not appear among the *Spy* Dramatis Personae, but then neither does Marcus, the young patriot whose scene with Cassius is in the second installment of the *Spy* fragments. P——p's role here is an extension of Rapatio's remark about him in I, 2, for he assures Rapatio that he will do his part in freeing the soldiers accused in the Massacre. Sewall's behavior in that trial was a little strange. As attorney general, he drew up the indictments, but he quietly evaporated when the trials approached, finding sudden business to do with inferior courts in Charlestown and Ipswich. Although P——p plays no part in *The Adulateur* as it appears in the *Spy*, it is tempting to give this character to Warren because there is an extended paragraph in the MHS manuscript which says that "Both history and satire must also bring forward names that but from their infamy might have slept forever in oblivion" and then uses Sewall as an example of that "venal tribe" in a passage that suggests P——p's description of himself as a man "who long had sacrific'd [his] honor, / To be a tool." Although the self-condemnation of these characters is general enough to fit Mercy Warren's sense of their originals, the immediate discussion hinges on the forthcoming Massacre trials and is therefore tied to the central plot of the expanded version of the play. If this scene is part of the plagiarism, it is more neatly patterned on the Warren scenes than either I, 2 or IV, 1.

This last takes place after the soldiers have been freed, but it is too carelessly written to fit comfortably in any version of the play. A jubilant Rapatio appears to be talking to Hazlerod although he is with Gripeall, who answers, promising to use his power to interfere with trade and reduce the town to poverty. On July 16, 1770, months before the acquittal of the soldiers, the Admiralty had transferred the headquarters of the North American fleet from Halifax to Boston "to check further Violences, prevent illicit Trade, and to defend and support . . . the Magistrates in the Enforcement of the Law." Gripeall at this point could not have been Admiral John Montagu, who was not appointed commander-in-chief until 1771 and did not arrive in Boston until August of that year. If the author, working from the time of composition rather than the implied date of the action, intends Gripeall to be Montagu, as the MHS manuscript says, the scene certainly misses a chance to be a Mercy Warren satirical sketch. John

Adams, in his *Diary* entry for December 29, 1772, comments on Admiral Montagu's manners: "A coachman, a jack-tar before the mast, would be ashamed, nay, a porter, a shoeblack, or chimney sweeper, would be ashamed of the coarse, low, vulgar dialect of this sea officer."²⁷ That character may lie hidden in the choice of name, Gripeall, but he is scarcely audible in the conventional oppression speech that IV, 1 gives him. That scene does not provide a fit conclusion to the Massacre plot unless it be taken simply as an indication that the power of Hutchinson and his British masters has been re-established, and it is only in that sense that it can be seen as a bridge to IV, 2, the Rapatio soliloquy which brings us back to *The Adulateur* as Mercy Warren's readers first saw it in the *Massachusetts Spy*.

The Adulateur, as we have it, is the product of several hands. Conceived from the beginning as a political act rather than an artistic one, it was simply another weapon in the war of words that preceded the real war of American Independence. It may not have been "honoured with the voice of general approbation," as the note in the MHS manuscript says, but Mercy Warren did create in Rapatio a satiric figure strong enough to engage the imagination of her party and attractive enough to bring her an uninvited collaborator whose rhetoric and sense of plot fit somewhat uncomfortably with her own satiric style. More dramatic than other Warren satires, the expanded *Adulateur* is still not much of a play, a landmark in American drama only because it came so early and, in its first form, from a woman's hand. As propaganda, it probably spoke only to the converted, although the political antagonists of those days seem to have read one another with more care than opponents do today. At least that is what newspaper debates like that of Massachusettensis (Daniel Leonard) and Novanglus (John Adams) suggest. "But, mean as they were, they had their effects," John Adams wrote of his pre-Revolutionary publications, in a letter to Mercy Warren (July 27, 1807), protesting her treatment of him in her *History*. The phrase might serve for Mercy Warren's satires as well. Adams went on to say, "Indeed, all the political writings of those times appear of little consequence at this day," but his defensiveness about his own contribution belies that remark.²⁸ Never a work of art, no longer propaganda, *The Adulateur*—like the other writings Adams dismisses—

has become an artifact that can help enliven our sense of the times. The remarkable thing about the play at this date is its allusiveness, the way both Mercy Warren and her unknown collaborator understood that a line, a phrase, a single adjective could evoke a man, an event, a political attitude. To read *The Adulateur* carefully now is to get a clear idea of what would evoke a response in 1772 and to admire Mercy Warren for her sure sense of where the exposed nerves lay.

NOTES

1. *The Adulateur, a Tragedy* (Boston, 1773). The pamphlet contains not only the scenes first published in the *Massachusetts Spy*, 2 (March 26, April 23, 1772), 15, 32, but additional scenes by someone other than Mercy Warren. Unless otherwise identified, all quotations, even when I am talking about the *Spy* fragments, will be from the pamphlet version of the play since it is the more accessible, having been reprinted with slight variations, mostly in punctuation, in *The Magazine of History*, 16 (1917-18), 227-259. Both acts and scenes are identified by Roman numerals in the printed play, but I will use the Roman-Arabic combination (e.g., IV, 3) to facilitate short identifications. *Adams Family Correspondence*, ed. L. H. Butterfield (New York, 1963-), I, 88.
2. John Adams, *Works* (Boston, 1856), IX, 336; *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, ser. 1, 13 (1873-75), 206; Samuel Adams, *Writings* (rpt., New York, 1968), II, 349.
3. Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (ed. M. A. McCorison from ed. of 1874; Barre, Mass., 1970), p. 266.
4. This statement of purpose can be found in a manuscript note in the Warren Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society. It introduces a manuscript copy of the scenes from *The Adulateur* that appeared in the *Massachusetts Spy* on March 26, 1772. There are slight variants in a few lines. Although the handwriting is apparently Mercy Warren's, the tone of the comments on the scenes suggests not an original manuscript but a copy of the material from the *Spy*. A remark about James Otis, that he sacrificed "his time his fortune his happiness, and his life . . . at the shrine of freedom," indicates that the pages were prepared after Otis's death in 1783. Within the article, the document will be identified as the MHS manuscript.
5. Otis quoted, Bernard Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), p. 52; Adams, *Works*, II, 150.
6. Bernard Bailyn explains in *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* that, after the publication of the pamphlet, "'The tall man' became a standard polemical reference to Hutchinson" (p. 129n). Since Foster Hutchinson appears as Meagre

- in *The Adulateur*, it is possible that Mercy Warren detached the adjective from the phrase in *Dialogue* and assigned it to the tall man's brother, but the fictional Sir George's description of Foster ("that *lopsided crooked* figure, that looks so like *Churchill's prophecy of famine*") suggests that the man may have been meager in his own right.
7. *Warren-Adams Letters* (Boston, 1917-1925), I, 152-153; Warren, *History* (Boston, 1805), I, 79; III, 266.
 8. Brown, *Mercy Warren* (rpt., New York, 1903), pp. 176-178; Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1783* (New York, 1957), II, 193-194 (originally published in 1897); Quinn, *A History of the American Drama, from the Beginning to the Civil War*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1943), pp. 34-38; Moody, *America Takes the Stage* (Bloomington, Ind., 1955), pp. 133-134; Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1976), pp. 212-213; Schlesinger, *Prelude to Independence* (New York, 1958), p. 40; Bailyn, *Ordeal*, pp. 201-202; Granger, *Political Satire* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1960), pp. 282-283; Fritz, *Cast* (Boston, 1972), p. 106; Hutcheson, "Mercy Warren, 1728-1814," *William and Mary Quarterly*, ser. 3, 10 (1953), 378-402; Anthony, *First Lady of the Revolution* (Garden City, N.Y., 1958), pp. 83-85.
 9. *Warren-Adams Letters*, I, 201; I, 102.
 10. That Mrs. Warren does play verbal games is clear in the name Rapatio. Neither Latin nor Italian, it is an Italianate invention that suggests Hutchinson as Machiavelli and evokes rapacity in the process. It gains further emphasis alongside the other comic names—Limput, Dupe, Gripeall. Such names were traditional in the English language theater. If there is any special significance in her titular use of the French spelling of *adulator*, it escapes me.
 11. Washington, *Writings* (Washington, D.C., 1931), III, 232; Gage quoted, Hiller B. Zobel, *The Boston Massacre* (New York, 1970), p. 137; Otis, *Vindication*, in *The University of Missouri Studies*, 4 (July 1, 1929), 33; Warren, *History*, I, 100.
 12. Hutchinson quoted, Bailyn, *Ordeal*, p. 164.
 13. Adams, letter to James Warren, March 31, 1774, *Warren-Adams Letters*, I, 25; Warren, *History*, I, 119.
 14. Dalrymple quoted, Zobel, p. 228.
 15. Otis quoted, Cass Canfield, *Samuel Adams's Revolution, 1765-1776* (New York, 1976), p. 25; *The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr.* (Boston, 1880), p. 201.
 16. Quinn, p. 35; Silverman, p. 212.
 17. *Adams Family Correspondence*, I, 79.
 18. *Warren-Adams Letters*, I, 8-9; II, 399; I, 14; "To a Young Lady" in Mrs. M. Warren, *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous* (Boston, 1790), pp. 206-207; *History*, I, 154.
 19. *Warren-Adams Letters*, I, 2; I, 13; Hutchinson quoted, Bailyn, p. 71.
 20. John Adams, *Works*, x, 210; Samuel Adams, *Writings*, I, 96.
 21. Broadside, reproduced in Clarence S. Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings* (Worcester, Mass., 1954), plate 18; Zobel, p. 239; *History*, I, 118.

22. *Poems*, p. 199; *History*, III, 436.
23. This is my designation. There are two scenes numbered III in the second act of the play.
24. *History*, I, iv; 94.
25. Dalrymple's proposal, Zobel, p. 208.
26. Oliver, *Origin & Progress* (San Marino, Calif., 1961), p. 52; *The Defeat*, *Boston Gazette*, May 24, 1773, p. 2.
27. Quoted by Neil R. Stout, *The Royal Navy in America, 1760-1775* (Annapolis, Md., 1973), p. 152; Adams, *Works*, II, 306.
28. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, ser. 5, 4 (1878), 356.

Biographical and Historical Background of the Yarnall Library of Theology

JOYCE L. WHITE*

ELLIS HORNOR YARNALL: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

ELLIS HORNOR YARNALL was born December 23, 1839 to Charles and Emma (Cope) Yarnall. Both parents came from several generations of Quakers, their American ancestry going back to Philip Yarnall who came to the New World with the Penn Colony in 1684 and the Copes who came from the west country of England about the same time.

While Ellis was growing up, his father was a teacher of the Classics at Haverford College; and as one of the founders of the College, served on the Board of Managers for nearly forty years. In addition, he served as secretary of the Board from 1830 to 1866.

The child was named Ellis for his grandfather and Hornor for his paternal grandmother. He received his early education at Gregory's Classical Academy and entered Haverford College at the age of fourteen in 1853. After losing one year because of illness, he was graduated with the class of 1858, receiving his B.A. degree at nineteen years of age.

Although he went into business with Whitall, Tatum and Company, a firm dealing in apothecary glass, he gave it up after five years to enter the Law School at the University of Pennsylvania in 1863. During this time, it seems probable that Ellis Hornor Yarnall spent considerable time with his cousin who was then Rector of St. Mary's Episcopal Church, Hamilton Village, 39th and Locust Streets. The Reverend Thomas C. Yarnall, born in 1815, was about twenty-five years older than Ellis Hornor Yarnall; and was, therefore, more like an uncle than a cousin. The eldest of his own nine children was about the same age as his cousin Ellis.

Thomas Yarnall and his two brothers, Ellis and William, were

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sons of Benjamin Hornor and Elizabeth (Coffin) Yarnall. The allegiance of Benjamin and his wife, Elizabeth, to the Quaker faith was considerably weakened during the schism of 1826. One by one, their sons found their way into the Episcopal Church.

As a young man, Thomas expressed an interest in the ministry, and studied theology at Yale University, graduating with the class of 1841. After two years at the General Theological Seminary for the Episcopal Church in New York, he was ordained deacon in 1843 and priest one year later. He was obviously much influenced by the new Oxford Movement for Catholic Revival in the Anglican Communion, which grew out of the activity of the Tractarians in 1833. His influence, in turn, on other members of the family was considerable.

His brother, Ellis, followed him into the Episcopal Church. Through a love of books, this Ellis became an ardent anglophile, and developed an initial interest in the Church of England through the writings of Alexander Knox. He was a lawyer and much interested in political affairs. He carried on a lifetime correspondence and friendship with John Duke, first Baron Coleridge, who was a member of the British Parliament and later Lord Chief Justice of England. Like Thomas, he was an Anglo-Catholic. Ellis made several trips to England and sent his daughter to study there and live with the Coleridges during her school days. On one occasion, she was introduced to Cardinal Newman. During the mid 1860s, Ellis wrote many articles for the *Guardian*, an English church newspaper. The major topic of the time was the Anglo-Catholic movement. His influence on Ellis Hornor Yarnall was considerable, and he served as sponsor for his cousin during the latter's initial instruction leading to his confirmation into the Episcopal Church. Ellis's choice for an Episcopal parish was the Church of the Redeemer in Bryn Mawr (established in 1851), where his four children were reared. He was buried in its churchyard in September 1905.

William, the youngest brother of Thomas, brought his wife, Elizabeth, and their three children, Benjamin Hornor, Jr., Mary Massey, and Emily, to St. Mary's Church, Hamilton Village, in 1860. As was the custom at the time, the family paid rent for a pew, which they maintained until the death of William and Elizabeth in 1903. In this church Emily was confirmed in 1870, at fourteen years of age. Here,

too, she was married to Ellis Hornor Yarnall twenty-seven years later.

In addition to the Yarnall family association, several parts of the Hornor family seem to have been associated with St. Mary's Church during the fifty-four years of Thomas's rectorship. However, it was not this parish that Ellis Hornor Yarnall selected for his church affiliation.

When the charter for St. Clement's Church was obtained in 1855, the area around 20th and Cherry Streets was mostly open ground. However, the development of the horse-drawn car lines and the erection of a large railroad station at 32nd and Market Streets during the mid-1850s increased residential interest in the area. In addition, substantial bridges across the Schuylkill River replaced the ferry boats, and the Consolidation Act of 1854 absorbed West Philadelphia into the City proper.

Consequently, when St. Clement's Church held its first service in January 1859, it was in the center of a newly formed community convenient to the most up-to-date transportation of the age. Thus it was in this new parish of St. Clement that Ellis was baptized on March 13, 1864, and there confirmed on Good Friday of the same year by Bishop William Bacon Stevens.

Two years later, when he was twenty-five years old, he received his law degree from the University of Pennsylvania and was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar in 1866.

Yarnall established his law practice in an office at 734 Sansom Street in 1867. After two years, he moved to 725 Walnut Street where he stayed for another two years and finally settled at 705 Walnut Street in 1871. There is no indication that he was a member of any law firm; rather, he conducted a law practice of his own. During this time, he lived at several different addresses, but always in the vicinity of 12th and Walnut Streets.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a growing emphasis on the Catholic heritage of the Episcopal Church in its Anglican tradition had aroused considerable controversy throughout the entire Anglican Communion. Extreme partisan spirit existed on both sides of the issue in England and America, and conflict between High-Churchmen and Evangelicals was prevalent. The Evangelical element stressed preaching, conversion, good daily living, and strict

adherence to the forms of worship as authorized by the Book of Common Prayer. The High-Churchmen stood for the combined importance of the Church, the Prayer Book, and the sacraments. In addition, a faction among the High-Churchmen emphasized sacramental importance through use of ritualistic liturgy beyond that indicated in the Book of Common Prayer. Unique in the Diocese of Pennsylvania was the more or less even division of the two elements in the make-up of the clergy, the Evangelicals predominating slightly. The leader of the Evangelical forces was Bishop Stevens. The center of the High-Church faction was St. Clement's Church.

In 1869, the influence of the Catholic Revival on St. Clement's Church began with the election of the Reverend Herman Griswold Batterson as rector. During 1870, serious dispute developed over liturgical practices and respective areas of jurisdiction between the rector of St. Clement's and its vestry. In fact, the matter ultimately went to a civil court suit, testing the ecclesiastical tenure of an incumbent rector. A Bill in Equity of the Common Pleas Court dated May 27, 1871 sustained the rector. At the following annual meeting in April 1872, the election of a vestry sympathetic to the liturgical practices of the Reverend Father Batterson established St. Clement's as the bastion for the High-Church party in the diocese for the next twenty years.

Although no records indicate that Ellis H. Yarnall had been engaged as legal counsel in the court action between the vestry and the rector of St. Clement's, he undoubtedly took keen interest in the proceedings and the decision. And inasmuch as he was obviously a firm supporter of the liturgical practices in question, it is likely that he was elected to the vestry. In that capacity, he would have had a strong voice in the general operation and running of church affairs.

In 1875, a special series of religious studies and devotions was arranged under the direction of the Cowley Fathers, a religious order for men. The popularity and success of this mission led the vestry to call on the Order of St. John the Evangelist to supply them with a priest for the rectorship of St. Clement's Church, then vacant. The offer was accepted, and from 1876 to 1891, various priests from the Order (with its motherhouse near Oxford in England) served as rectors of St. Clement's. Thus, the influence of the Oxford Movement was further established in the diocese. The liturgy and general

churchmanship of St. Clement's continued to be at variance with those of the bishop, who was a militant Low-Churchman from a Congregational, New England background.

The harassment the parish felt from the bishop and the obstinacy the bishop felt from the parish continued steadily. For example, in 1876, the rector received a letter of complaint from the bishop concerning liturgical practices contrary to those authorized by the Book of Common Prayer. Again in 1880, the rector of St. Clement's was called before the Standing Committee of the Diocese for an ecclesiastical hearing. And at various times during the period, the bishop refused to visit the parish for any reason whatsoever. Through all the ritualistic strife, however, the vestry unanimously supported the rector. Undoubtedly, Ellis Yarnall was part of that vestry.

At the death of his father in 1877, Ellis H. Yarnall inherited some farmland and securities in Delaware County which he shared with his sister Anna. He held controlling interest in the Nederlands Farm and maintained a financial interest in the Springfield Water Company. The major part of his income, however, he put into the new railroad industry, including companies from all across the country. He brought his mother from the college house in Haverford to live with him at 126 South 12th Street, and it is quite possible that his unmarried sister lived there also.

The following year, in 1878, Edward Drinker Cope (who later held professorships at the University of Pennsylvania), a cousin to Ellis, purchased the magazine *American Naturalist*. He edited it jointly with Asa Packer, and they engaged Ellis H. Yarnall to introduce and edit a section on geography. This he did for four years. During that time, most of the articles published describing the life and customs of peoples in Asia, Africa, and South America were submitted by missionaries, many of whom were graduates of the Philadelphia Divinity School or its forerunner, the Mission House.

In St. Clement's Church on June 2, 1880, Ellis H. Yarnall married Caroline Ridgway Rowland. Like Ellis, Caroline came from several generations of Quaker ancestry—the Rowlands going back to John Rowland of Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania and the Ridgways to John and Phoebe Ridgway of Little Egg Harbor Meeting in New Jersey.

Caroline's parents, James and Phoebe Ann (Low) Rowland were

married in 1825 at the Mulberry Meeting, but transferred their allegiance to the Hicksites in 1827. The following year, her grandparents, James and Rachel (Edwards) Rowland of the Philadelphia Meeting joined the Hicksites also, as did Charlotte (Ridgway) Low, her widowed grandmother.

Caroline Ridgway was born May 2, 1832, and was given the maiden name of her maternal grandmother. The family lived at 28 Arch Street, a residence which had stayed in the family for more than two generations. Her father, James Rowland, Jr., like his father before him, was in business as an ironmonger at 128 Mulberry Street. He was, therefore, at least a business neighbor of Ellis Yarnall (grandfather of Ellis H. Yarnall), who was in the same business at 132 Market Street during the early 1800s.

In 1847, Caroline's mother died at forty-five years of age, and five years later, at fifty-two, her father died also. They were both buried at Laurel Hill Cemetery. Since Caroline, then twenty years old, was still a minor, her older brother, Charles James, became her legal guardian. It is likely that Charlotte Low, their grandmother, lived with them until her death in 1863.

During most of their adult life, Caroline and Charles made their home at 117 South 18th Street and maintained at least a nominal association with the Religious Society of Friends. In January 1880, however, six months before her marriage, Caroline Rowland was baptized at St. Clement's Church. She was forty-eight years of age (mature for baptism), and eight years older than Ellis. In June 1880, Charles J. Rowland moved to The Lincoln, an apartment house at 1222 Locust Street. Caroline and Ellis Yarnall maintained the house on 18th Street for the next ten years.

In 1882, Caroline R. Yarnall made her will. In it she referred to an agreement between her husband and her brother in which Ellis H. Yarnall relinquished all claim to his legal rights on her estate and stipulated that the full inheritance should go first to her brother. It seems probable that Ellis Yarnall might have drawn up a will at that time, also. Furthermore, it seems likely that in light of his experience at St. Clement's Church he might have developed his idea for a library of theology about that time.

Ellis H. Yarnall was much interested in geography and travel. He was a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for many

years, and he joined the Geographical Society of Philadelphia shortly after it was formed in 1891.

While visiting Rome in the spring of 1894, Caroline was taken seriously ill and died on April 18 in the hotel in which they were staying. Her husband had her body brought back to Philadelphia. Burial took place from St. Clement's Church and interment was in the Rowland family plot at Laurel Hill Cemetery on October 27, 1894.

Although Caroline had named her brother, Charles J. Rowland, as inheritor of her estate, she had designated her brother and her husband as joint administrators. In addition to approximately \$19,000 in personal assets, Caroline Yarnall owned the property at 43 North 2nd Street, a four-story residence built in 1877 (directly opposite Christ Church). It was sold for \$8,000.

Ellis H. Yarnall resumed his law practice at 119 South 4th Street, established a new residence at The Lincoln for the next three years, and continued his association with St. Clement's Church.

The period was an especially active one for the church. In March 1895, the election of the Reverend George H. Moffett as rector ushered in an era of prosperity for the parish. Major repairs were undertaken in the fall of 1895. The total cost, in excess of \$13,000, was paid in full through many generous contributions. In January 1897, the rector instituted a special project to clear the ground rent amounting to another \$13,000. This, too, was more than met by the end of the calendar year. And in April of the same year, the decision was made to create a mortuary chapel in the crypt of the church. This practice, common in English parishes and cathedrals (though not so among American churches), led to an expenditure of nearly \$800. In addition, the need for a new heating system necessitated some interior changes which created space for a side altar. Following the example of San Clemente in Rome, it was decided fitting to dedicate the new altar to St. Katherine.

By the spring of 1898, the costs of all these projects had been met through the contributions of many generous parishioners. One can only speculate on the influence Ellis Yarnall's travels might have had on some of these ideas. However, there seems little doubt that Ellis H. Yarnall would have been present for the dedication of the crypt chapel in April 1898 on the fourth anniversary of Caroline Yarnall's death.

On June 2, 1897, Ellis H. Yarnall took as his second wife Emily Yarnall, eighteen years his junior, daughter of his cousin William. The ceremony took place in St. Mary's Church, Hamilton Village. It was one of the last weddings at which the Reverend Thomas Yarnall, uncle to Emily and cousin to Ellis, officiated before he retired as rector at the age of eighty-two. After the marriage, Emily Yarnall transferred her membership to St. Clement's Church. She lived with her husband at The Lincoln for about eighteen months until they established their last home at 3824 Spruce Street in 1899.

It was during 1898 that Ellis H. Yarnall made a will. Although this was his last will, it seems likely that it was adapted from one written previously—probably in the early 1880s. For example, provision was made for funds to help pay ground rent for the church, when in fact, that debt had been cleared completely by December 1897. Part of this will was to take effect immediately upon his death to provide for his wife, Emily. And part was to take effect at her death to provide for his interests in St. Clement's Church. Ellis H. Yarnall was devoutly and steadfastly committed to the Anglo-Catholic expression of religious life and stated that it was his intention that his estate be used to support and extend the teaching of the Faith of the Church as it was then practiced at St. Clement's. To that end, he outlined a plan which was highly detailed, but which was essentially based on conditions as they had existed about fifteen years earlier.

In 1901, Charles J. Rowland, Ellis's former brother-in-law, relinquished his residence at The Lincoln and came to live with the Yarnalls. In November 1902, he was taken ill and died. Like Caroline Yarnall, he was buried from St. Clement's Church and interred in the Rowland family plot at the Laurel Hill Cemetery. Two months later, in January 1903, Ellis Yarnall had the body of his first wife removed from the Rowland plot to his own burial lot in the Woodland Cemetery.

For the next five years, Ellis Yarnall lived a quiet life, continuing his law practice from an office in the Girard Building and attending church regularly, always sitting in the same pew near the front of the church on the north side, and leaving unobtrusively after the services. He was apparently a shy person who had few social contacts. In December 1907, Ellis H. Yarnall, then sixty-eight years of

age, suffered a severe heart attack and after a brief illness, died on December 18th. Following a requiem mass, he was buried from St. Clement's Church on December 23, 1907. He had been a member of St. Clement's for forty-three years; indeed, it was the only parish with which he ever had been affiliated.

Ellis H. Yarnall provided well for his surviving wife Emily, and named the Girard Trust Company executor and administrator of his estate. His investments included financial interests in coal mining and water companies, mortgages, real estate, but predominantly, railroads. He specifically directed that none of these investments was to be changed except in extreme financial crisis. In no case were any investments to be made in the capital stock of any corporation whatsoever. The estate totalled nearly \$100,000.

Emily continued to live at 3824 Spruce Street and to maintain her membership in St. Clement's parish. In October 1908, she drew up her own will, incorporating the distinctive plans for St. Clement's Church which Ellis had already outlined in his. Emily Yarnall died on February 23, 1911. She, also, was buried from St. Clement's Church; and was interred in the Yarnall plot at the Woodland Cemetery. In her memory, sedilia were placed in the chancel at St. Mary's Church, Hamilton Village, where she had been reared.

PHILADELPHIA DIVINITY SCHOOL

When William Bacon Stevens first came to the Diocese of Pennsylvania in 1848 as rector of St. Andrew's Church, 8th and Spruce Streets, he was almost immediately involved in the development of a theological school for the diocese. The Philadelphia Divinity School was formally organized in 1859, incorporated in 1862, and graduated its first class in 1865, one year after Ellis H. Yarnall's confirmation into the Episcopal Church and the same year in which Stevens was elected bishop.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, several factors influenced the growth of libraries in theological education. Basically, rising new sciences thrust radical concepts into traditional theological positions. Two other issues further complicated the period for Anglicanism. One was the introduction of textual criticism with its influence on Biblical studies. The other was the Oxford Movement, which precipitated controversy about ritual.

Originally, the small school met at the Episcopal Academy, 7th and Locust Streets; in 1863 it purchased its own ground and building at 39th and Walnut Streets. Some of the members of the Board of Directors were the Right Reverend Alfred Lee, the Reverend Philips Brooks, the Reverend De Wolf Howe, Mr. Lemuel Coffin, and Mr. Lewis S. Redner. William Bacon Stevens was president of the Board, a position which he held until his death in 1887.

The catalogue of the school published in 1870 indicated that the library contained 6,000 volumes of theological works, which were completely adequate to the needs of the students. The library was used also as a lecture and recitation room, but was available to the clergy of the diocese two afternoons a week.

In 1875, the Philadelphia Divinity School requested permission from the University of Pennsylvania for its students to attend lectures on the new scientific subjects. One of those subjects was paleontology, in which Edward Drinker Cope, a cousin of Ellis H. Yarnall, was an outstanding authority.

By 1877, the library of the Divinity School had grown to 8,000 volumes and was still considered satisfactory for the needs of the students. The curriculum of the school consisted of systematic divinity, church polity, Biblical learning, canon law, ecclesiastical history, liturgics, homiletics, pastoral care, and Hebrew. The faculty numbered five, of whom four lectured on two subjects each. Few textbooks were needed; since instruction was given mostly by lectures, from which the students were expected to take copious notes. Fewer than twenty authors were required as references during the three year course. Some of those included were Gilbert Burnet, Richard Hooker, Charles McIlvaine, Brooke Westcott, and William Chillingworth.

In 1878, the Eucharistic controversy was at its height. Many of the pamphlets and articles directed against St. Clement's and its liturgical practices were written by members of the faculty or the governing board of the Divinity School. In fact, many of the same men were also involved with the movement to prevent the delegate from St. Clement's from sitting in the diocesan convention that year. Clearly, in Philadelphia, the Evangelical forces controlled the seminary.

In 1882, the Philadelphia Divinity School again expanded and this time moved to larger quarters at 50th and Woodland Avenue.

Here a separate room was designed for the library; by this time the collection numbered about 9,000 volumes. After the death of Bishop Stevens in 1887, his large personal library was given to the school, raising the total of the library collection to about 12,000 volumes. The bequest of another memorial collection a few years later brought the total number of volumes to about 15,000.

During the mid 1890s, the establishment of a graduate department at the Philadelphia Divinity School added a new dimension of study. Interest increased in research into such subjects as Biblical archeology, textual criticism of both Old and New Testaments, particular currents of theology, and church history. Greater emphasis was also placed upon the study of liturgical doctrines. The resources of the library were inadequate to meet the new needs. In 1896, a doctoral program was introduced, placing an even greater burden on the already inadequate library facilities. The Oxford Movement was first mentioned as a subject for study in that year. The faculty had increased to seven. A librarian had been appointed.

In 1898, the same year in which Ellis H. Yarnall wrote his will, the catalogue of the school stated that a most urgent need was money to purchase recent theological literature, of which it had an inadequate supply. It further stated that income from a \$3,000 investment was all that was currently available and pointed out that a fund of \$10,000 from which the income could be used to purchase such books would be a great boon to the school. Such requests continued each year until well past the turn of the century.

When, in 1922, the Divinity School again moved to new quarters at 42nd and Locust Street, the first building erected was the library. It was named in memory of William Bacon Stevens who had been president of its board of trustees for nearly thirty years.

It is against this setting that one must view the will of Ellis Hornor Yarnall, written in 1898, setting up the Yarnall Library of Theology and its endowment "for the use of the Clergy and other students in furnishing such works as are needed for reference by all students of ecclesiastical history and theology and are not easily accessible, or to be found in Philadelphia. . . ."

THE WILL

Ellis H. Yarnall directed that his estate be divided into four individually administered funds. Two were concerned with the worship and the maintenance of his parish—that is, to support its teachings as he currently knew them—and two were concerned with the extension or perpetuation of those teachings. One of the latter two was an educational fund for the training of boys aspiring to the priesthood. The other was an endowment for a Library of Theology with specific directions for its establishment and organization.

Clearly, Ellis Yarnall must have seen a particular role for a library at St. Clement's Church when he outlined the concept during the same year in which the library of the Divinity School was asking for funds with which to purchase theological books. It is also highly unlikely that he was unaware of the pleas for such funds made annually from the early 1890s well into the next century. Apparently, the strong association of Bishop Stevens and the Evangelical forces with the Philadelphia Divinity School, together with his own experience through his association with St. Clement's Church, simply made the school an unacceptable beneficiary for him in spite of his interest in theological education.

The concept of St. Clement's Church as a center for Anglo-Catholic study and practice captured his imagination. It is highly probable that the idea evolved between 1876 and 1891 when St. Clement's Church was under the direction of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, an educational order designed to establish schools at a time before free education became generally available, and when most private academies were of a residential type. Individualized tutoring by the clergy was the ordinary channel for admission to the seminaries of the period, and often ordination was granted directly upon successful completion of examinations without seminary training.

Furthermore, the founder of the American congregation of the Society, the Reverend Oliver Prescott, was rector of St. Clement's parish during the time that Caroline was baptized and Ellis and Caroline were married. Caroline drew up her will at this time and probably Ellis did also. Contrary to conditions at the Philadelphia Divinity School, therefore, the conditions at St. Clement's Church made it an excellent beneficiary for Ellis's will.

The provision by which Ellis established the educational fund forecast a kind of novitiate. "Before any boy is accepted, an agreement shall be executed and delivered by the parents . . . in accordance with the Acts of Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania relating to the acknowledgment of Deeds, in which the said parents . . . shall give their full consent to the selection of the boy, and state their wish . . . to be that the boy should be educated and trained for the Holy Ministry and agreeing to do nothing . . . in opposition to the objects and designs of St. Clement's Church in supporting and training the boy. The Rector, Wardens, and Vestry shall then become liable for his support and maintenance until his entrance into a theological seminary . . . or [he] attains the age of twenty-one years."

Such training would have provided the boy with a basic grounding in Anglo-Catholic traditions and the experience of participating in the routines of a formal religious life. It would also provide an opportunity for new members to join the Order.

To support this total educational setting as he envisioned it, Ellis Yarnall planned a separate ecclesiastical library located on the grounds of St. Clement's Church. It was not intended to compete with other libraries in the city, but to introduce an entirely different educational opportunity. By this plan, a library of books relating to the history, doctrine, and worship of the Catholic Church as treated by the early Fathers, the Doctors of the medieval period and current Anglican theologians was to be assembled for the benefit of both clergy and students.

The idea for a special library of this kind was new to Philadelphia. Books of that nature were not available in the area. Undoubtedly, Ellis Yarnall thought of the limited access of the clergy to the Divinity School library as well as of the fact that its collection was fitted primarily to the needs of the undergraduate students. He knew that Roman Catholic seminary libraries were completely inaccessible at the time to any other than their own students, and in any case, would not have had the works of the Anglican theologians. The library of the University of Pennsylvania had relatively few books in those fields of study. With no specialized school of theology to support, the university library concentrated on purchasing works of a general ecclesiastical nature. Particular emphasis at the time was placed on the impact of the new sciences on religion. Such books

on the Catholic tradition within the Anglican Church as there were in Philadelphia, were in private collections. Ellis Yarnall knew of at least two. One belonged to his cousin, Thomas, and was housed in the rectory of St. Mary's Church. The other belonged to the various rectors of St. Clement's Church and was there also housed in the rectory. Neither was easily accessible. Doubtless he had also heard about books too expensive for most people to buy.

Thus, by the ideas set forth in his will, Ellis H. Yarnall seems to have had in mind an Anglican educational setting which would strengthen the already established reputation of St. Clement's Church by providing for the study of Anglo-Catholic history and theology, as well as for its current practices, and for training of future leaders and adherents. In fact, he went so far as to direct specifically, that the money for the library was to be stopped if the ritualistic liturgy and theological teachings as then practiced at St. Clement's Church were ever abandoned.

All this, however, he was careful to add, was to be with the consent of the bishop and the Standing Committee of the diocese.

THE LIBRARY OF THEOLOGY

The Yarnall Library of Theology was officially established in 1911 at the death of Emily Yarnall as previously directed by the will of Ellis H. Yarnall. Upon receipt of the first income from the investments, a Board of Managers was elected by the Vestry of St. Clement's Church to direct expenditures from the Library of Theology account.

Ellis H. Yarnall had directed that the board should consist of two laymen and three clergymen of the diocese, of whom one should always be the rector of St. Clement's. In 1911, the rector of the church was the Reverend Charles S. Hutchinson. The other members elected to serve on the board were the Right Reverend Philip M. Rhinelander, incumbent bishop of the diocese; the Reverend Samuel Upjohn, rector of St. Luke's Church, Germantown; Mr. S. McKean Bayard, accounting warden of St. Clement's Church; and Mr. George Wharton Pepper, a vestryman of St. Mark's Church and the diocesan representative to the General Convention.

Together, these men were charged with the responsibility of establishing an Anglo-Catholic library in the parish of St. Clement's

for the use of the clergy and all students of ecclesiastical history and theology. The special object of this library was, then, to supply the deficiencies then existing in the collections open to the public in that area of literature in Philadelphia, and, to some degree, in the country as a whole. The check to support the beginning of the project in 1911 amounted to \$819.

It is important to remember that the will of Ellis Yarnall directed that the Library of Theology be located at St. Clement's Church. In fact, he suggested that a fireproof building to house the collection, paid for from the maintenance fund account, be erected, if possible, on the grounds of St. Clement's. However, he left the execution of this plan open by stating that its development should be with the approval of the bishop of the diocese.

During 1912, the only expenditure from the Library of Theology account was \$100 paid for special services to a person chosen by the board to work out details of the library's proper scope and development. Although the records do not indicate to whom this payment was made, some developments at the Divinity School are of interest.

Shortly before the turn of the century in 1892, the Reverend Lucien M. Robinson joined the faculty at the Philadelphia Divinity School. His academic interest was in liturgics. Courses dealing with liturgy and ritualistic practices in both Eastern and Western traditions were introduced into the curriculum. He held the national appointment as Custodian of the Book of Common Prayer for the Episcopal Church, a position that indicated his recognition as an authority on forms of worship. In addition, he was appointed librarian for the seminary, and thereby became the first librarian on the staff of the school.

In April 1912, a proposal to house the Library of Theology at the Divinity School was ratified by the Orphans Court of Philadelphia. In fact, the decree specifically noted that the Divinity School was within the parish of St. Clement's. A report of July 1913, states that satisfactory accommodation had been found for the housing of the Yarnall Collection in the library of the Divinity School, and the Reverend Lucien M. Robinson is listed as one of the members of the Board of Managers.

While the organizational matters of the library were being completed during 1911 and 1912, the interest and income of the Library



YARNALL COLLECTION
BOOKPLATE

Fund account was accumulating. The first books for the library were purchased in the spring of 1913 and cost \$1,925. They were received at the church and held there during the summer while the seminary was closed. Bills were paid by the accounting warden. Each month from October 1913 to May 1914, groups of 50, 75, or 100 books were delivered to the library and were recorded in the official accession records. Most of the books were published and purchased abroad. Therefore, with the outbreak of war in 1914, book buying and shipping were greatly curtailed. In fact, during the 1914/15 academic year, only 75 volumes were purchased (costing \$834) as compared to 675 volumes purchased the previous year. During each of the next two years, approximately \$1,150 was spent on book purchases, the amount being about one-third the available funds. The report for March 1918 showed less than \$1,000 spent on books. It also reported that \$2,500 had been put into Liberty Bonds, pending the end of the war when purchases from abroad could be resumed.

In 1922, Mr. Bayard resigned as accounting warden of St. Clement's and Mr. Sheldon Ritter, previously finance committee chairman, was appointed to replace him. In 1923, Dr. Robinson retired from the Philadelphia Divinity School, and Dr. Joseph Ayer was appointed as his replacement. It is reasonable to assume that these men replaced their predecessors on the Yarnall Library Board of Managers also.

Meanwhile, income from the Liberty Bonds together with other interest had accumulated sufficiently to permit nearly \$3,000 to be spent on book purchases during 1922. Income from the original endowment together with compound interest from Liberty Bonds and mortgage certificates increased the funds available for book purchases to \$6,000 during 1926, and to more than \$9,000 during 1927. By the end of 1928, the Yarnall Library totalled 5,500 volumes, including a recent purchase of the *Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*, a 48-volume set, edited by Pusey, Newman, Keble, and Marriott.

In 1933, as a contribution to the Centenary Celebration of the Oxford Movement for Catholic Revival in the Anglican Communion, a complete catalogue of the books and manuscripts in the Yarnall Collection was compiled under the editorship of Dr. Joseph Ayer. It was published by the Yarnall trustees under the chairman-

ship of the Honorable Clinton R. Woodruff. The time was thought appropriate for publishing such a catalogue, in order to make the extraordinarily valuable collection known to scholars and other libraries.

The catalogue listed just over 9,000 entries and included some unusual items. Among these, were such works as the *Acta Sanctorum*, the collections of Pez, Martene, and Durand, and complete sets of the Camden Society and the Surtees Society publications. Large collections of bound pamphlets of importance to modern Anglican church history were also listed. The collection was strong in Orientalia and contained many photostatic copies of Biblical manuscript texts produced specifically for the Yarnall collection. The *Thesaurus* of Ugolini was also specifically mentioned.

Dr. Joseph Ayer was professor of ecclesiastical history at the Philadelphia Divinity School from 1905 to 1936 and lecturer on the history of religions at the University of Pennsylvania for the last ten years of that time. Although American born, he did all his graduate work in Germany, receiving his PH.D. at the University of Leipzig in 1893. His interest was naturally drawn to the Yarnall Collection to which, it is reported, he gave hours of attention both before his appointment as librarian in 1923 and after his retirement from the faculty in 1936.

In the fall of 1936, St. Clement's felt the need for a parish paper to replace *St. Clement's Magazine*, which had been discontinued in 1929. The Reverend Franklin Joiner, then rector, suggested to the Yarnall Trustees that they might underwrite the cost involved in such a publication and include in each issue something about the Yarnall endowments. Apparently this was agreed to, and the first issue of *St. Clement's Quarterly* was published in October 1936. The title page indicates the aid of the Yarnall Library of Theology Fund and also lists the clergy of St. Clement's Church. The Reverend Walter F. Tuhey, curate, is designated as "priest/librarian." Although the arrangement for the Board of Managers for the Yarnall Library had been clearly outlined from the beginning, there was no provision for the role or title of "priest/librarian" until this time. Nothing in the record specifically explains the designation. Certain circumstances, however, are of interest.

From the establishment of the Yarnall Library in 1911 to the re-

tirement of Dr. Ayer in 1936, the library of the Divinity School had been under the direction of one of the faculty: first, Dr. Lucien Robinson, professor of liturgics; and later Dr. Joseph Ayer, professor of ecclesiastical history. Both, of course, were members of the clergy. Each in turn had served as a member of the Board of Managers—and under the terms of the will was qualified to do so. In September 1936, Miss MacLeod was appointed to the staff of the seminary as librarian, but not as a member of the faculty. In addition, by the conditions of the will, and the common definition of the word “layman” at the time, she would not have been qualified to serve on the Board of Managers for the Yarnall Library of Theology. Therefore, the need apparently arose for an official liaison between the library of the seminary and St. Clement’s Church. The designation of a curate from the clergy staff of St. Clement’s filled that role.

By 1938, the Yarnall Library had grown to 12,000 volumes and additional stacks were provided in a basement room at the Divinity School. Although retired from the active ministry, Dr. Ayer continued to give as much time to the Yarnall collection as before, and carried full responsibility for selection of purchases from abroad.

In January 1939, the *Quarterly* announced a series of Monday night lectures under the sponsorship of the Yarnall Library of Theology. Since no further details were given, it is not clear whether the subject for the talks was intended to be the book collection, or whether Yarnall Library funds were simply supporting the costs. It should be noted, however, that the Reverend Paul D. Collins was the newly appointed “priest/librarian,” having joined the staff at St. Clement’s only a few months before, and that Dr. Joseph Ayer was still very active, with a special enthusiasm for the Yarnall Collection.

In the issue of *St. Clement’s Quarterly* for the winter of 1940, Clinton R. Woodruff wrote an excellent article about the beginning and development of the Yarnall Library. He was one of the Board of Managers at the time, the delegate from St. Clement’s Church to the Diocesan Convention, chairman of the Diocesan Social Services Department, and Director of the Department of Welfare for the City of Philadelphia. He specifically pointed out the painstaking interest that Dr. Joseph Ayer had shown in the development of the collection and credited his scholarship, judgment, and enthusiasm for the commanding position the collection then held in its field.

From 1941 to 1944, Dr. Ayer submitted substantial annual reports on the Yarnall Collection for publication in *St. Clement's Quarterly*. In 1941, he pointed out that in spite of the war in Europe, book purchases had gone on, although shipments from France, Germany, and Italy had been curtailed. He noted especially, however, that the large set of *Monumenta Germaniae historica* had been acquired from a bookseller in Oxford. He was also pleased to report that the Library had completed its set of the *Church Quarterly Review* through a purchase of forty volumes that had become available abroad. With many other fine purchases, the collection then numbered just over 14,000 volumes, according to Dr. Ayer's report.

Although purchases abroad during 1942 were limited to England, \$6,200 was spent for books that year. In addition, the collection was enriched by selections from several gifts, including many pamphlets valuable for a detailed understanding of specific Anglican controversies and positions. Dr. Ayer also pointed out that year that with the addition of the 1785 "Proposed Book of Common Prayer," the collection of early editions of the Book of Common Prayer was virtually complete.

During the war years, binding and repair of books were given attention, sources for purchases having become for the most part inaccessible. The indexing of materials from 1933 onward was also directed at producing a ten-year supplement to the original published catalogue as soon as the war was over. As a result of spending limitations, the endowment was invested in government bonds; hence the Yarnall Library Fund account was reported to have been worth about \$10,000 by the beginning of 1944.

In the annual report of that year, Mary P. Farr, then librarian of the seminary, especially noted the death of Dr. Ayer. At the time of his death in April 1944, he had been engaged in the preparation of a supplement to the printed catalogue, which was scheduled for publication later that spring. The original catalogue, she stated, had been the basic means of making the collection known. Its usefulness was further extended through the adoption of a liberal interlibrary loan policy. Of particular interest that year, was the purchase of five folio volumes of Nicolaus de Lyra's *Postillae* in their original bindings as published in 1501-02. The acquisition of *A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline* by Richard Bancroft, published in 1593,

was also specially noted. And finally, among the 597 volumes added to the library that year was a gift of Migne's edition of the writings of the Greek Fathers of the Church, in eighty volumes, from one of St. Clement's parishioners.

In 1945, Dr. Leicester Lewis, who had served as a member of the Yarnall Library Board of Managers for several years, resigned from the faculty of the Philadelphia Divinity School to take another position in New York. He was a scholar in Catholic theology and had worked closely with Dr. Ayer in the selection of materials for the Yarnall Collection. The Library was by then becoming quite well known and was consequently the recipient of rather valuable gifts. Among those were many fine art books in folio volumes and an extensive collection of pamphlet materials. A gift from Henry Riley Gummey in sixty-two volumes given the collective title "Liturgical Miscellaneous" is an example. In fact, of the 480 volumes added during the 1944/45 academic year, more than 300 were acquired as gifts.

With the termination of the war, large shipments of books began to arrive which had been held abroad for several years. By the end of the 1945 calendar year, approximately \$3,600 had been spent on book purchases, leaving a balance in the Library Fund account of about \$1,900. The sale of securities after the war provided more than \$5,300 for book purchases in 1948. William Bains, bookdealer in Philadelphia, and Stechert-Hafner in New York were heavily used for domestic and foreign orders respectively. Invoices received with the shipments at the seminary were authorized for payment by the librarian and stamped "approved" by the "priest/librarian" for Yarnall books specifically. All Yarnall Collection bills were then forwarded to Father Joiner, rector of St. Clement's, for his initials before actual payment by the accounting warden of St. Clement's Church.

In her report of 1950, Mary Farr pointed out the extensive use made of the collection through interlibrary loan. Scholars in Canada and Germany as well as all parts of the United States had borrowed materials over the years. Of particular interest was a copy of *La Vie du venerable serviteur de Dieu* by Bishop Henri Cauchon de Maupas du Tour, borrowed for the Sisters of St. Joseph by Catholic University in Washington. This life of St. Francis de Sales, published in

Paris in 1657, had been located nowhere else except the Bibliothèque Nationale. Since St. Francis de Sales was the patron, and Bishop Maupas a founder, of the Order of the Sisters of St. Joseph, the book was of special value to them. Realizing how much the book meant to the community, Father Joiner had the copy withdrawn, and presented it to the Order for their own archives in Chestnut Hill.

In 1955, the Reverend Franklin Joiner retired. He had been rector of St. Clement's Church for thirty-five years and, through Dr. Ayer, had maintained a close interest in the growth and development of the Yarnall Library. He had also instituted the concept of "priest/librarian."

In 1957, Mary Farr retired as librarian of the seminary and was succeeded by the Reverend William B. Manross. In addition to his position as librarian, Dr. Manross had been appointed to the faculty of the seminary in the field of church history with a particular interest in the American Church. Whether or not he was appointed to the Yarnall Board of Managers is unclear, but his expertise in selection of materials for the collection is obvious.

By 1960 the role of "priest/librarian" no longer served a purpose, and the Reverend Harold N. Renfrew was apparently the last appointed to that responsibility. For the next fourteen years, all details of purchases, bills, and so forth, were handled by the seminary library, only a report being submitted annually to St. Clement's Church. But since *St. Clement's Quarterly* had ceased in 1957, no vehicle for publication of the report was available.

The decision in 1973 to close the Philadelphia Divinity School and merge it with the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Cambridge, Massachusetts was of major consequence to the Yarnall Library of Theology. For over sixty years, the collection had been housed at the Philadelphia Divinity School, and the Yarnall and Stevens collections had grown side by side, each complementing the other. In fact, many people thought of the two collections as a single library. Strong arguments were, therefore, put forward by the dean of the seminary and the librarian, then the Reverend John E. Lamb, to send both collections to Cambridge. But the Board of Managers were committed to the will of Ellis H. Yarnall for the provision of a library of theology in Philadelphia. It was, therefore, their responsibility to find another location in the city to house the Yarnall Library.

In January 1974, Richard De Gennaro, Director of Libraries at the University of Pennsylvania, invited the Board of Managers to consider the university as a possible new home for the Yarnall Collection. In his letter, he pointed out the scholarly setting for the collection in the main library building and the fact that the university library is open to the whole community.

By May of that year, the offer had been accepted with the conditions that the Yarnall Collection be separately housed within the library and that the catalogue of the collection also be separately maintained. It was agreed that those books qualifying as rare books should be placed in the Rare Book Collection, there also separately shelved. The policy of annual reporting to St. Clement's Church by the library custodians was also agreed to, including a listing of the titles purchased with the funds provided. Accordingly, in June 1974, the 20,000 volumes that then comprised the Yarnall Library of Theology were moved from the Divinity School Library, 42nd and Locust Streets, to the fourth floor of the Dietrich Graduate Library Building, 36th and Walnut Streets.

In his letter of confirmation, Richard De Gennaro emphasized that the Yarnall books housed in the stack area would be freely available for use within the building by all scholars. In addition, as a further courtesy, he stated that divinity school students and faculty from institutions in the Philadelphia area would be permitted to borrow books from the Yarnall Collection without payment of the usual borrower's fee.

The evident intention of the will of Ellis Hornor Yarnall, who was an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania, was thereby fulfilled by providing "such works as are needed for reference by all students of ecclesiastical history and theology and are not easily accessible or to be found [elsewhere] in Philadelphia."

ADDENDUM

During 1912, the Reverend Henry M. Medary was enlisted to design an appropriate bookplate for the Collection. He was rector of the Church of the Advocate and an authority on ceremony and heraldry. For many years, he was the diocesan master of ceremonies for all formal occasions and designed the diocesan flag in 1920. One might

assume, therefore, that it was his intention to produce a design that reflected the distinctive content of the Yarnall Library.

The shape of the seal is basically circular. St. George's Cross and Shield is set in the center on a plaid background inside a scalloped square having twelve cusps, which in turn is contained within a quatrefoil. Three small spheres are repeated between the cusps of the quatrefoil and all is enclosed by a circle. The words, "S. Clement's Church † Yarnall Library of Theology," form a circular border.

Although no official explanation of the design has been found, some standard symbolism is applicable.

1. St. George's cross on a shield: Church of England (Anglican Communion).
2. Plaid: Scotland (Consecration of the first American Bishop by the Scottish Church).
3. Twelve: The Apostles (Apostolic succession).
4. Four: The Evangelists (The Gospel).
5. Three: Trinity (Trinitarian doctrine).
6. Sphere: Complete (Total historic tradition).
7. Circle: All encompassing (Catholic).

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The First Printing Press in the Panjab

GRAHAM W. SHAW*

THE American Presbyterians—more correctly the Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America¹—did not begin their evangelical work in the Indian subcontinent until some twenty years after the American Baptists had entered Burma and the American Congregationalists had come to Bombay.² Their comparatively late arrival coincided with the expansion of British influence north-westwards into the Panjab. Though this region as a whole would not be formally annexed until 1849, by the terms of the treaty of Amritsar concluded with the Sikh leader Ranjit Singh in 1809, the Sikh chiefdoms to the east of the river Sutlej, the so-called Cis-Sutlej states, had already come under British “protection.” A vast new area was thus being opened up for missionary exploitation and it was here that the American Presbyterians found, in Julius Richter’s phrase, “a magnificent sphere”³ for their activities.

The first two missionaries appointed to India, William Reed and John Cameron Lowrie, landed at Calcutta with their wives on October 15, 1833 and were welcomed by Rev. William Howard Pearce, founder and superintendent of the Calcutta Baptist Mission Press.⁴ Their choice of the Panjab as their specific field of operations was motivated above all by the almost total lack of a Christian presence in that part of the country: “Northwest of Allahabad for nearly a thousand miles . . . there were no European or American missionaries, and but two East Indian brethren—one at Allahabad, the other at Delhi.”⁵ Apart from being “virgin ground” for the missionary, this was also the land of the Sikhs who, having at least in principle renounced idolatry and abandoned caste, were considered rather more susceptible than the Hindus to evangelical persuasion.⁶ Its geographical proximity to Kashmir and Afghanistan also held the attractive prospect of disseminating Christian literature into the heart-

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land of Central Asia. As to the actual siting of their station within the Cis-Sutlej states, the missionaries' first choice was Ambala, the chief political agency of the British in that region; but this proved not to be possible: very probably the local British officials were unwilling to tolerate the provocative presence of Christian missionaries. It was decided that they should settle instead at Ludhiana, or Lodiana as the American Presbyterians then spelt it,⁷ and certainly the civil officers here were far more friendly. The political agent, Captain (later Sir) Claude Martin Wade, went so far as to open a small school in anticipation of their coming.⁸

While waiting in Calcutta for the rains before travelling up the Ganges, the missionaries occupied themselves in language study. Soon, however, William Reed developed consumption, of which Mrs. Lowrie had tragically died within five weeks of their arrival in India, and was obliged to sail for home with his wife, but he died at sea near the Andaman Islands on August 12th.⁹ Lowrie was, therefore, alone when he set out from Calcutta on July 25th in a twelve-oared budgerow, ascending the Ganges as far as Kanpur (Cawnpore), thence overland by *dak* (palanquin) to Ludhiana which he reached on November 5, 1834.¹⁰ In Lowrie's own words: "It was then a city of about twenty thousand inhabitants, situated on a small tributary of the river Sutlej, the eastern boundary of the Punjab, from which it is but five miles distant. It was then the frontier military post of the British, having a civilian residency at one end of the city and the cantonments at the other, a mile or more apart, with a small but well-planned fort at one side."¹¹ Assessing the needs of the newly-established Ludhiana station, Lowrie reported that he felt it desirable to have, as originally intended, two married missionaries to divide the duties of preaching and teaching and above all to lessen the burden of language-learning: "One of them, in addition to the Hindui, should possess a knowledge of the Panjabi. The other to Hindustani or Urdu should add Persian."¹² No doubt in view of the scanty range of tracts then available in Panjabi and the other languages, he also observed: "After some time, perhaps one, two, or three years at the farthest, a press will most probably be nearly indispensable."¹³ Lowrie was undoubtedly surprised to find that the Sikhs, the particular focus of his mission, formed only about one-tenth of the local population and that the majority were

Muslims, generally considered more resistant to conversion than even the Hindus.

Hardly had the mission station at Ludhiana been opened when Lowrie was struck down by malaria, and in March 1835 he was obliged to leave the heat of the Panjab plains for a period of recuperation in the Himalayan foothills at Simla. By the middle of November he was again fit enough to travel and to welcome to Ludhiana two new Presbyterian missionaries, Revs. John Newton and James Wilson, who had left Calcutta for the Panjab on June 24th, distributing vernacular books and tracts "by the way as they had opportunity."¹⁴ During their stay in Calcutta, Newton and Wilson visited the Rev. W. H. Pearce, who had earlier befriended Reed and Lowrie, and they were evidently impressed by the size and scope of his enterprise: "For the missionaries, newly arrived in Calcutta, scarcely anything aroused more interest than the Baptist Mission press."¹⁵ It was from Pearce that they acquired the equipment necessary for the establishment of printing at Ludhiana: a small old-fashioned wooden press "such as was still sometimes used in those days,"¹⁶ paper and printing ink, and founts of type "for printing the native languages in the Roman, as well as in the vernacular, characters."¹⁷ The variety of founts which the missionaries would need reflected the multi-lingual composition of the Ludhiana population. While the majority spoke either Urdu or Panjabi, smaller groups used Kashmiri, Persian, Hindi, and, of course, English. Founts of Persian, Gurmukhi, and Devanagari as well as Roman types were all essential to accommodate these languages satisfactorily. Newton and Wilson also took with them from Calcutta to Ludhiana one of Pearce's many trained Indian compositors¹⁸ to operate the press initially since neither of them had any knowledge of the printing process.

Though the arrival of the press at Ludhiana, "the first ever seen in this part of the country,"¹⁹ can with certainty be assigned to December 1835, it is impossible in the absence of any available written record to specify the month in which it actually began printing.²⁰ In a letter dated March 21, 1836, Newton and Wilson announced that they were in the process of erecting a printing office—a whole year, incidentally, before they began constructing a chapel, so urgent a need did they feel for a fully-operational press, "the great auxiliary

of the modern missionary”²¹—and they added rather optimistically that “it is our present aim to have a supply of Gospels and Tracts printed by next autumn.”²² A plot of land a little outside the city, on which stood the remains of some old brick kilns, had been obtained through the good offices of Captain Wade early in 1835. The missionaries now began to construct upon it two dwelling-houses, a schoolhouse and a printing office, the last two placed on the west side of the mission compound, and all built of sun-dried brick with an outside facing of burnt brick, covered with lime plaster and whitewash.²³ The printing office itself comprised three rooms, each eighteen feet by eleven and a half: “one for the types and press, another for blank paper and printed matter, and the third for a book bindery.”²⁴ Before John Lowrie was finally forced through recurring ill-health to quit Ludhiana for home in January 1836, it was decided that James Wilson should take charge of the school and that John Newton should be responsible for the supervision of the press until such time as a practical printer could be sent out by the home missionary society.²⁵ At this time the nearest press to Ludhiana was to be found in the town of Meerut,²⁶ over 175 miles south-east, and it therefore enjoyed a considerable novelty-value. It even attracted a visit from no less a person than Shuja-ul-Mulk, the exiled king of Afghanistan, who had taken refuge in Ludhiana under British protection, and Newton noted with wry satisfaction: “He, who a few years ago was law and fate to millions of people, came to admire the wonder-working power of the first press that had ever come within his reach.”²⁷

When the printing office was completed and the press installed, the Indian compositor from the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta taught Newton the mechanics of printing as best he could; and then the two of them set about training a small team of native apprentices as compositors, probably pupils from the orphanage which the Ludhiana missionaries also opened in 1836.²⁸ One of the original apprentices, wrote Newton in 1884, “gave so much satisfaction that he has been retained, as Foreman and General Manager, down to the present time. He began in 1836, at the age of about 14, and now he is a grey-headed man.”²⁹ Although it was not expected that much could be achieved before the arrival of a professional printer from the United States, nonetheless the press was put to work for the

first time probably during the spring or summer of 1836. The very first product of the Ludhiana Mission Press is something of a surprise. It was not directed at the Sikhs but at the Muslim population, and it was not written in either of the predominant local languages—Urdu or Panjabi—but in Persian. Entitled *A Sermon for the Whole World*, “it consisted of the Sermon on the Mount, with the last three verses of Matthew IV prefixed as an introduction. Other select scripture verses were added to set forth briefly the work of Jesus Christ as the Saviour of sinful men, the whole closing with the Apostolic Benediction in Hebrews XIII.20 and 21.”³⁰ According to J. Murdoch, it was a duodecimo tract comprising thirty-six pages and was printed in an edition of 15,000 copies.³¹ It may have been simply the reprint of a tract originally composed and published by some other mission (for many such reprints were run off the Ludhiana press subsequently), but more probably it was compiled by either Newton or Wilson, both of whom quickly became engaged in the preparation of books and tracts, collaborating with “native munshies and pundits to aid in securing a correct idiom.”³²

Captain Wade, who had given generous financial assistance as well as friendly advice to the Ludhiana missionaries from the outset, was quick to take advantage of the new press. Before Lowrie’s arrival in the city, at the same time as he opened his school, he also started up a small Persian newspaper entitled *Lodiana Akhbar*. Prior to the setting up of the mission press, Wade had been obliged to have copies written out by hand for distribution. From 1836 onwards (until at least 1841), it was issued by the Ludhiana Mission Press.³³ Since no copies of the newspaper, either manuscript or printed, are known to have survived, it is impossible to say how frequently it appeared—perhaps never on a regular basis at all. Though it was not very substantial, “consisting of only four loosely printed 4to pages,”³⁴ and its circulation amounted to no more than thirty copies,³⁵ it nevertheless ranks as the first newspaper ever printed in the Panjab. It seems to have been a kind of semi-official gazette: “The articles were made up chiefly of political news from the neighbouring states, obtained officially through News-writers employed by the Government, or by the Representatives of those states, resident at Lodiana.”³⁶ If it was Wade’s intention through his newspaper to keep the local “Anglo-American” community abreast of political developments,

it seems rather odd that he chose to issue it in Persian rather than in English. Much later, in 1873, the Ludhiana mission was to start its own weekly newspaper in Persian and Urdu named *Noor Ufshan*, edited by E. M. Wherry.

With the limited means available and with other missionary duties taking priority, the amount of printing completed in 1837 necessarily remained small. Nonetheless, nearly a quarter of a million pages were run off in Urdu, Persian, English, and "Indo-Roman" (i.e., Indian vernaculars, principally Urdu, in Roman script). It is clear, therefore, that only two founts of type were as yet in use, Persian and Roman. Printing materials were still in short supply and more paper and types (Persian, Roman, and Gurmukhi) were duly ordered from Serampore and Calcutta. Yet it could be said: "A beginning has been made, and the books and tracts printed have been of great service."³⁷ The next year, 1838, saw, despite disappointments as to the receipt of paper and suitable types, a great increase in the quantity of printing. It was also the year in which Devanagari and Gurmukhi founts were employed for the first time. More than one and a third million pages were printed, comprising 70,000 volumes of twenty-four titles, both Scripture portions and Christian tracts, seven each in English and Urdu, six in Panjabi (in Gurmukhi characters), three in Persian, and just one in Hindi.³⁸ The only one of these titles which it has been possible to identify is an Urdu translation of St. Luke's Gospel, printed in octavo, a copy of which is the earliest Ludhiana imprint in the library of the American Bible Society.³⁹

Mr. Reese Morris, Jr., printer and bookbinder, sent as promised from the United States specifically to manage the Ludhiana Mission Press, arrived in Calcutta together with his wife in April 1838. If, following the pattern set by the earlier parties of Presbyterian missionaries to India, he and his companions rested and acclimatized a while in Calcutta before embarking on the five-month journey to the Panjab, it seems very probable that he did not reach Ludhiana to commence supervision of the press until the end of 1838. There is no mention that he brought any printing machinery or materials with him from America, but no doubt he at least procured fresh supplies of paper and type during his stay in Calcutta. Additional equipment from the home society had, in any case, reached Lu-

dhiana well ahead of him. In their letter of March 1836, Newton and Wilson had welcomed the news that a large iron press was on its way to them from the United States. It was intended that this would take over the main burden of printing from the small wooden press which could then be relegated to producing proof-sheets and sundry light work. The iron press reached Calcutta on April 2, 1836, two years before Morris, with the second party of missionary reinforcements. The group started up the Ganges with the equipment in July but had got only as far as a little above Bhagalpur in Bihar when it was overtaken by a violent storm. Two of the boats capsized and much of the baggage was lost, including "the mission library . . . , a box containing some parts of a printing press, as well as a quantity of printing paper."⁴⁰ Despite their misfortune, the missionaries continued their journey by river as far as Kanpur where they obviously hoped to be able to obtain replacements for the parts lost from the press, no doubt from the printing shop run there by the Greenway family.⁴¹ The missing parts could not, however, be supplied in Kanpur and the missionaries were advised to return downriver to Allahabad for them, where they could also secure the services of a practical printer for Ludhiana. One of the party, James McEwen, was sent back to Allahabad and duly procured the missing pieces and also a printer willing to serve at Ludhiana.⁴² The date on which the iron press complete in all parts arrived at its destination is not recorded but must have been towards the end of 1836 or the beginning of 1837. The printer supposedly hired in Allahabad is somewhat mysterious, since no printing is known there before the American Presbyterians themselves established their second press in India in that city in 1839;⁴³ and since he does not figure in any of the mission reports, his working presence at Ludhiana seems open to question, unless he was merely an addition to the pool of compositors. It was, therefore, Morris's first task to bring the iron press into full use at last and so increase the output of urgently-needed Christian literature at Ludhiana; so the printing office was somewhat enlarged to accommodate it. The arrival of Morris to superintend the press also released the Reverend Mr. Newton to concentrate on the task of translating and this he did to good advantage.⁴⁴

Despite Morris's presence, however, the amount of printing for 1839 did not exceed that for 1838. A little under one and a quarter

million pages were printed, comprising nearly 49,000 volumes of just nine works: four in Panjabi (30,000 copies), three in Urdu (16,000), and two in English.⁴⁵ Again, it is not possible to identify all of these titles except two of the Urdu items: translations of St. John's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, both in editions of 3000 copies.⁴⁶ Another press was also sent to Ludhiana during this year to replace the small wooden press which was found to be inefficient, but soon after the new press arrived it was rendered useless by the loss of a spring.⁴⁷ It was also in 1839 that the Ludhiana Mission Press received its first financial aid from the American Bible Society, a grant of \$1000, which was spent entirely on paper for printing.⁴⁸ In subsequent years this Society was to double and even treble its annual grant, and it seems to have been well pleased with the printed results: "From this Mission your Board has been favoured with samples of the Scriptures published at their expense, and which are executed in a manner highly satisfactory."⁴⁹

J. C. Lowrie states⁵⁰ that "in this year, 1840, the work of translating the Sacred Scriptures and preparing other religious books and tracts, began to be reported as occupying much of the time of some of the missionaries"; there was certainly a healthy increase in the quantity of printing. Over two million pages were produced for the first time, comprising some 30,000 volumes of works in Urdu (13,500 copies), Hindi (10,000), Panjabi (5000), Persian, Kashmiri (for the first time), and English.⁵¹ Of these only three can be identified: in Urdu a translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and a version of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and in Panjabi a translation of St. Matthew's Gospel.⁵² This last was the first portion of the Scriptures to be translated into Panjabi and printed in Gurmukhi characters by the Ludhiana missionaries, and was largely the work of John Newton who had begun it in 1837.⁵³ Of course, this was by no means the earliest Biblical translation in Panjabi. The Serampore Baptist missionaries had begun the translation of the New Testament into Panjabi in 1807 and had commenced the printing of it in 1811; but the completion of the edition of 1000 copies was delayed, like so many other productions, by the disastrous fire of 1812, until 1815.⁵⁴ The translation of the Old Testament was subsequently undertaken but was brought to a halt by the death of the Panjabi pundit employed.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, ten-elevenths were translated, as far as the

end of Ezekiel 26, and issued in four volumes of 1000 copies each between 1818 and 1826.⁵⁶ Though this Serampore Panjabi Bible received the commendation of one "Jewun Singh," a Sikh resident in Calcutta, who remarked that "the whole of the Punjabee nation will understand it—it is truly the language of the Punjab,"⁵⁷ the American Presbyterians were very critical of the pundit or pundits consulted in its preparation and were highly suspicious of the method of translating from an English Bible, instead of from a Greek or Hebrew text. As J. J. Lucas observed in his review of the literature produced by the American Presbyterians in India: "Living a thousand miles and a three months' journey from the people of the Punjab, it is not strange that they failed to catch the right words and idioms, or to make an exact translation."⁵⁸ Hence the preparation of a revised and complete Panjabi Bible was one of Newton's priorities.

Also during 1840, two lithographic presses were procured and put into immediate operation "on which printing in the Persian, Kashmiri, and Thibetian languages can be executed with great facility."⁵⁹ The Ludhiana missionaries, though well supplied with founts of Persian types from Serampore and Calcutta, found this character ill-suited to typography and from this time onwards nearly all books and tracts printed at Ludhiana in this script were lithographed, a technique which, moreover, accommodated the Islamic love of calligraphy.⁶⁰ The rather unexpected lithographing of Tibetan works arose through the activities of Rev. Jesse Jamieson, one of the party capsized near Bhagalpur, who was stationed from 1837 onwards at Sabathu, 110 miles north-east of Ludhiana, 4000 feet up in the Himalayan foothills. Here he befriended parties of traders from Tibet and "conceived the idea that if books and tracts could be prepared in the language of these merchants they might be sent into those hermit regions."⁶¹ With the help of a lama he learnt the language, and his first composition in Tibetan was a tract described as "a compend of the Gospel Story and the way of salvation."⁶² This was followed by a translation of the Ten Commandments and "The Principles of the Christian Religion."⁶³ These were all lithographed at Ludhiana around 1840, thus anticipating by some twenty years the publications in Tibetan of the Moravian Mission at Khyelang.⁶⁴ Once the pamphlets were printed, Jamieson set off for the Kinnaur region where, at a village called Lipe, he met twelve lamas: "After conversing with

them for some time and examining their books, of which several were very large, he presented them with some Thibetan tracts—the first Christian books in their own tongue they had ever seen.”⁶⁵

In 1841, the number of pages printed again exceeded the two million mark, making up nearly 68,000 volumes of twenty-two items.⁶⁶ The eleven in Urdu included two further Biblical translations: the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, and the Book of Psalms.⁶⁷ The most important of the six Panjabi items was Newton’s version of St. John’s Gospel. It was in 1842, however, that the presence of a professional printer at Ludhiana made itself really felt, with the annual report proudly announcing that “under the direction of Mr. Morris, the amount of printing

TABLE OF PRINTING STATISTICS FOR THE FIRST DECADE
OF THE LUDHIANA MISSION PRESS

<i>Year</i>	<i>Items</i>	<i>Volumes</i>	<i>Pages</i>
1836	?	?	?
1837	?	?	227,780
1838	24	70,493	1,355,030
1839	9	48,888	1,239,738
1840	?	30,512	2,035,992
1841	22	67,725	2,240,850
1842	43	923,450	8,120,460
1843	13	47,650	4,055,850
1844	?	?	3,020,000
1845	3 +	?	4,660,000
Totals:	114 +	1,188,718 +	26,955,700 +

These figures have been compiled from the Annual Reports of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

EARLY SUPERINTENDENTS OF THE LUDHIANA MISSION PRESS

1836–38 John Newton
 1838–43 Reese Morris, Jr.
 1844–53 Joseph Porter [assisted by John Newton]
 1854–58 Levi Janvier
 1859–69 Adolph Rudolph
 [In 1870 Elwood Morris Wherry became superintendent]

executed during the year has exceeded that of all former years put together.”⁶⁸ Over eight million pages were printed, comprising no less than 900,000 volumes of forty-three items. The majority of these, thirty-five in fact, were Urdu tracts, only one of which exceeded a hundred pages in length. These included such titles, surprising and unpromising in the context of the Panjab at least, as *African Servant* and *Bob the Cabin Boy*! In this same year the first Biblical translations in Hindi prepared by the Ludhiana Presbyterians were published, comprising all the Epistles in three volumes: Romans to 2 Corinthians, Galatians to Philemon, and Hebrews to Jude, each in editions of 2050 copies.⁶⁹

Just as it was finally becoming firmly established, the Ludhiana Mission Press ran into financial difficulties. In 1843 the funds of the Board were sufficient to operate the two presses for only half the year, and there was a consequent fall in output. Only four million pages were run off, amounting to some 47,000 volumes of thirteen items: five each in Urdu and Hindi, three in Panjabi.⁷⁰ These included versions of Deuteronomy in both Urdu and Hindi, of Isaiah in Urdu, and of Daniel in Hindi, all in the by now standard Ludhiana Biblical edition of 2050 copies.⁷¹ In Panjabi a translation of *Pilgrim's Progress* was printed, the Urdu version having appeared in 1840.

In 1844 there was a grim reminder that the Ludhiana missionaries had settled on the then very frontier of British India. In January the Sikhs advanced to Aliwal, only fifteen miles from the city, and, though they were defeated, a marauding expedition set fire to some buildings on the edge of Ludhiana. Mission work was seriously interrupted and the missionaries' wives, together with the orphan girls, were evacuated to Saharanpur. Apart from the political tension, the press in particular had a further setback when Morris, no doubt for reasons of ill-health, was obliged to spend the year in the hills.⁷² He apparently never returned to Ludhiana to superintend the press. His six years' stay had been crucial in putting the press into full and efficient operation and in training a sizeable body of Indian apprentices into good printers. The press was left in the charge of Rev. Joseph Porter and under his superintendence some three million pages were run off in Panjabi and Hindi only.⁷³ It is clear that the financial constraint was still very close, for the annual report woefully remarks: “How painful is the thought, that such an agency must be crippled

for want of the means, which a little self-denial would abundantly afford. For eighteen months, not half the funds mentioned in their estimates for printing, and most urgently requested, have been sent to these brethren, whom the church has sent to bear the burden and the heat of the day.”⁷⁴ The great need for tracts especially, with which the two presses in full operation could scarcely keep pace, may be assessed by the fact that in 1844 the Ludhiana missionaries distributed no less than 25,000 tracts during a single visit to the great Hindu *mela* or festival held at Hardwar, the point of exit of the sacred river Ganges from the Himalayan mountains.⁷⁵ The Ludhiana Presbyterians, like missionaries everywhere in India, were quick to seize the opportunity of exploiting such periodic gatherings of the Hindu faithful for the propagation of their own faith.

Unfortunately, during 1845, there was no abatement in the misfortunes of the mission press under the superintendence of Joseph Porter. In the early part of the year, January or February, a fire reduced the printing office and its contents to a heap of ruins, only the original wooden press and a quantity of type escaping undamaged. Though the annual report calls it simply a “mysterious providence,”⁷⁶ it seems highly probable that it was the work of another marauding Sikh expedition. The chief loss, estimated at some \$10,000, was upwards of 90,000 copies of Biblical portions and pamphlets. When the fire occurred, the press had been engaged in the production of Panjabi works, principally editions of the two Gospels remaining to be printed, Mark and Luke, and of the Acts, besides assorted tracts. The appearance of all these editions was consequently delayed, and it was not until two years later, in 1847, that a complete edition of the Gospels and Acts was printed at the expense of the American Bible Society.⁷⁷ Friends of the mission both in India and in the United States made generous donations towards the cost of repairs. New founts of type naturally had to be obtained and John Marshman of the Serampore Press cast an improved fount of Panjabi type which he magnanimously presented to the Ludhiana mission.⁷⁸ The press stood idle for five months; but in June reconstruction was begun, the printing office now being built separate from the book depository to minimize the risk of loss in the event of future fire. Fears on this score were well grounded, for early in June 1857 a large body of Sepoy mutineers from Jullundur set fire to the mission. Both

the printing office and the book depository were again completely gutted. The presses themselves were broken and the type scattered. Only an additional stock of books and tracts stored in an outhouse was spared.⁷⁹

In the course of fulfilling their principal task of preparing vernacular Christian literature, the Ludhiana missionaries were almost inevitably led into pioneering efforts in the field of Panjabi philology, in particular John Newton, “probably the best scholar in that language living.”⁸⁰ In May 1851 Newton published *A Grammar of the Panjabi Language: With Appendices*, in the preface to which he emphasized that the work made no pretensions to give a comprehensive grammatical summary of Panjabi but was intended merely to point to the differences between Panjabi and Urdu, being based upon notes compiled primarily for his own use as a translator.⁸¹ A small volume of just over a hundred pages, it was nonetheless an invaluable, and at that time the only, recourse for those civil and military officers wishing to master Panjabi. With the formal annexation of the Panjab by the British in 1849, the demand for such a work naturally increased and in 1866 a second edition was published. It is interesting to note that the appendices included an extract from a *Janam-Sākhī* (or hagiography of Guru Nānak, the founder of Sikhism), which was perhaps the first portion of Sikh literature ever to appear in print. Though Sir George Grierson years later praised Ludhiana as “the fountain of instruction in Panjabi for Englishmen,” he also pointed out that for no other reason than an accident of geography Newton and his colleagues had been unwittingly promoting an atypical form of Panjabi which conflicted with the more correct speech of the Amritsar region sixty miles or so further northwest.⁸² From his earliest years in Ludhiana Newton had also been collecting materials for a Panjabi-English dictionary. In 1841 the Ludhiana Mission took this process up officially and appointed a committee to expedite the project. It proved, however, a long drawn-out affair and a far more weighty business to see through the press than the grammar had been. In 1849 a prospectus of the dictionary together with a specimen page was issued but the advance subscription list was so disappointingly low that at one point the project was almost abandoned. Though the 1851 annual meeting of the Ludhiana Mission resolved to carry it through the press as rapidly as

possible, printing was further delayed first by the departure of Newton himself for a visit to the United States, and secondly by the death of the press superintendent Joseph Porter in 1853. It was left to Levi Janvier to finish the work of editing and printing and in July 1854 there finally appeared *A Dictionary of the Panjábí Language, Prepared by a Committee of the Lodiana Mission*. This was certainly the first work of its kind to be published and contained between 15,000 and 18,000 entries; during its preparation the compilers had consulted a large number of manuscripts of Sikh scriptures and secular Panjabi works. When completed it was used by civil and military officers as well as by missionaries for the next two generations.⁸³

Despite suffering two disastrous fires in the first twenty-five years of its existence, the Ludhiana Mission Press went from strength to strength and became the chief source of Christian literature for all missionary organizations operating in the North-West Provinces. Though largely financed by the American Tract and Bible Societies, it also received grants from various missionary societies in recognition of the very real debt which they owed. For instance, the American United Presbyterians and the Church of Scotland missionaries at Sialkot, the Church Missionary Society at Kotgarh, Amritsar and Peshawar, and the English Baptists at Delhi all depended upon its printed output rather than undertake to set up presses for themselves. As John Murdoch, that great observer of mission presses in India, remarked: "By means of the press the American Presbyterian Missionaries have done as much in North India and the Punjab as all the other missionaries taken together for the diffusion of Christian truth through this agency."⁸⁴ It is interesting to set against this praise a suggestion made in the same work: "It is worthy of consideration whether our missionaries ought not to be relieved of all this kind of care, by selling the Press to natives. There are now so many printing establishments in the Punjab, that it would be easy to get our work done, without having a press of our own."⁸⁵ Ironically, the writer of these words was none other than John Newton who fifty years earlier had been the very man who brought printing to the region for the first time.

APPENDIX

THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANS' SECOND PRESS IN INDIA AT ALLAHABAD

As has been mentioned, the American Presbyterians' long association with Allahabad began as the result of an unfortunate accident. When a party of missionaries bound for Ludhiana ran into a storm on the Ganges near Bhagalpur in the summer of 1836, one of their number, James McEwen, was sent to Allahabad to replace equipment lost when the boats capsized, and he subsequently returned to the city to establish a permanent mission station.

A printing press and a supply of paper for Allahabad arrived in India in May 1839, as did Rev. Joseph Warren, who had some practical knowledge of printing and had been specifically designated to superintend the establishment of the new press.⁸⁶ Unlike the Ludhiana Mission Press, therefore, that at Allahabad enjoyed the services of a practical printer from the outset and consequently made great strides with its production much more quickly. Added to this considerable advantage, it did not suffer the early setbacks of the Ludhiana Press and indeed can be said to have had a fairly uneventful beginning. Initially, however, there was no suitable building to house the press, so Warren installed it in one of the outhouses near the kitchen and set up his cases of types in the bathroom of his bungalow!⁸⁷ Here he patiently instructed a boy named John Jordan, who had been brought up in the American Presbyterian Mission's orphanage and who subsequently became a joint-proprietor of the Allahabad Mission Press and "after acquiring a fortune, retired in old age, dying in 1918."⁸⁸

The press had apparently just been put into operation and a few works printed by the close of 1839. John Jordan began his career as a printer on a little catechism by John Brown of Haddington, the very first product of the Allahabad press.⁸⁹ As soon as was practicable, a proper printing office was built, comprising two large rooms and a smaller storeroom for paper. Two other rooms were afterwards added, in one of which the "press congregation" would hold its Sunday services. The first work in Roman-Urdu was a translation by Rev. James Wilson, later first Secretary of the North India Bible Society, of the *Child's Book of the Soul*. Founts of oriental types were quickly acquired, very probably from Serampore or Calcutta, and printing began in Hindi in Devanagari characters with a tract entitled *Nicodemus the Inquirer*. The first item printed in the Arabic character was a pamphlet called *The Future State*. These were also the work of James Wilson.⁹⁰

One very important feature of the mission press at Allahabad was that, unlike its counterpart at Ludhiana, it established its own typefoundry which, apart from meeting its own requirements, could also supply the Ludhiana press and hence eliminate the need to rely upon outside sources for replacement letters or founts.⁹¹ This was set up during 1840 and its first product was a complete fount of large Arabic type, "the manufacture, from first to last, of our own workmen," followed by a Devanagari and a smaller Arabic fount.⁹² The versatility of the Allahabad Mission Press was such that it even printed works in Greek and Hebrew—no doubt these founts were likewise manufactured on the premises.⁹³ During 1840, the first full year of production, over one million pages were printed in Urdu, Hindi, Persian, and English,⁹⁴ and in 1841 nearly three and a half million pages. It was in 1841 also that the first Biblical translations were printed: editions of St. Matthew's Gospel in both Hindi and Urdu (1000 copies each), of Genesis and Exodus to the 20th chapter in Roman-Urdu (1000 copies), a smaller edition of Genesis alone also in Roman-Urdu (500 copies), Psalms and Proverbs in Roman-Urdu (3000 copies), and a smaller edition of Proverbs alone (330 copies).⁹⁵ In 1842 the printing total rose to some four and a half million pages, amounting to over 70,000 copies of eighteen works: twelve in Urdu, four in Hindi, and two in English. There were further Biblical translations: editions of St. John's Gospel and of St. Luke's Gospel with the Acts of the Apostles in both Urdu and Hindi.⁹⁶ This was also the year in which the Allahabad missionaries first printed their own periodicals: a monthly in Hindi entitled *Khair Khhuah* and an Urdu-Roman newspaper.⁹⁷

TABLE OF PRINTING STATISTICS FOR THE FIRST SEVEN YEARS
OF THE ALLAHABAD MISSION PRESS

<i>Year</i>	<i>Items</i>	<i>Volumes</i>	<i>Pages</i>
1839	?	?	?
1840	?	?	1,015,970
1841	25+	75,300	3,346,880
1842	20+	70,225	4,424,225
1843	21	69,930	4,263,340
1844	?	?	4,832,050
1845	21	70,600	4,579,400
Totals:	87+	286,055+	22,461,865+

These figures have been compiled from the same source as those for Ludhiana.

Joseph Warren, the founding father of the Allahabad press, was transferred to Agra in October 1851 and was succeeded in the management of the press by Lawrence Hay, newly arrived from the United States.⁹⁸ By the time of his departure, however, the Allahabad Mission Press was well on its way to becoming the American Presbyterians' premier printing establishment in the Indian subcontinent.⁹⁹

NOTES

1. A brief note on the foundation of the Society and its precursor, the Western Foreign Missionary Society, may be found in E. M. Wherry, *Our Missions in India 1834-1924* (Boston, Mass., 1926), pp. i-ii. For a general account of the American Presbyterian Church see J. B. Scouller, *History of the United Presbyterian Church of North America* in The American Church History Series, XI (1894), 143-255.
2. On the printing activities of the American Baptists see D. E. Rhodes, *India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Thailand*, in *The Spread of Printing: Eastern Hemisphere* (Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 61-63; and on those of the American Congregationalists see A. K. Priolkar, *The Printing Press in India: Its Beginnings and Early Development* (Bombay, 1958), pp. 79-87.
3. Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, tr. S. H. Moore (Edinburgh and London, 1908), p. 200.
4. *Historical Sketches of the India Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America [from 1834 to 1884]* (Allahabad, 1886), p. 106; *Memoirs of the Rev. W. H. Pearce* (Calcutta, 1841), p. 269.
5. *Historical Sketches*, p. 162. From *Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission* it would appear, however, that there were rather more than two East Indian missionaries then at work in that area.
6. See C. H. Loehlin, "Sikhs and Christians in the Punjab," *International Review of Missions*, 51 (1962), 451-460. For a thorough discussion of the social impact of missionaries upon the area see J. C. B. Webster, "The Christian Community and Change in North India: a History of the Punjab and North India Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1834-1914," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1971.
7. The name derives from its having been founded in 1480 by two princes of the Lodi dynasty ruling at Delhi.
8. Wherry, p. 12.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 4-5.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10. A full account of the journey from Calcutta to Ludhiana is given in J. C. Lowrie, *Two Years in Upper India* (New York, 1850), pp. 69-128.
11. *Historical Sketches*, p. 164.
12. Lowrie, p. 130.

13. Ibid. As regards Panjabi tracts, the sole source at that date would be the Serampore Mission Press, which listed just five (*Tenth Memoir Respecting the Translations of the Sacred Scriptures into the Oriental Languages by the Serampore Brethren* [1834], p. 43).
14. Wherry, p. 18. No doubt these books and tracts had been furnished through the generosity of the Serampore Mission, the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, etc.
15. Ibid., p. 39.
16. Ibid., p. 29. One could speculate that it might have been the very wooden press which Pearce had himself purchased second-hand to begin the Baptist Mission Press in 1818 (J. Murdoch, *Catalogue of the Christian Vernacular Literature of India* [Madras, 1870] p. 2).
17. *Calcutta Christian Observer* (September, 1835), p. 483. It should be noted, however, that the Baptist Mission Press, though at that time possessing sixty-two founts of type in eleven different languages, does not appear to have printed any works in Panjabi in Gurmukhi characters (*Memoirs of the Rev. W. H. Pearce*, pp. 92-93).
18. A few years later, in 1837 or 1838, "upwards of one hundred compositors, pressmen, binders or other servants" (*Memoirs of the Rev. W. H. Pearce*, p. 93) were in the employ of the Baptist Mission Press.
19. *Gazetteer of the Ludhiana District, 1888-9* (Calcutta [1889?]), p. 74.
20. H. Cotton, *A Typographical Gazetteer . . . Second Series* (Oxford, 1866), p. 125, mentions the establishment of the press but does not specify a date; P. C. E. Deschamps, *L'Imprimerie hors l'Europe*, Nouvelle édition revue (rpt. Paris, 1964), p. 93, offers "vers 1838"; D. E. Rhodes, op. cit., makes no mention of Ludhiana in his survey of printing in the smaller centres.
21. J. C. Lowrie, *A Manual of Missions* (New York, 1854), p. 39.
22. Quoted in *Twenty-third Annual Report of the American Tract Society* (Boston, Mass., 1837), p. 49.
23. Wherry, p. 20.
24. *Historical Sketches*, p. 46.
25. His departure for India on October 14, 1837 was announced in *Minutes of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (New York, 1838), p. 9.
26. Printing had begun here at least by 1834 (see D. E. Rhodes, op. cit., pp. 55-56) through the efforts of the Greenways. This East Indian family had also been responsible for bringing a press to Kanpur and their introduction of printing at Agra more or less coincided with the foundation of the Ludhiana Mission Press (see Kṛṣṇācārya, *Hindī ke Ādi-Mudrit Granth* [Benares, 1966], pp. 42-43).
27. *First Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church* (New York, 1838), p. 8.
28. Wherry, p. 29. Two years later, in 1838, twelve men and boys were employed by the Ludhiana Mission Press in printing and binding (*Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the American Tract Society* [Boston, Mass., 1839], p. 57).
29. *Historical Sketches*, pp. 46-47.

30. Wherry, p. 40.
31. It was reprinted many times, and versions in other languages, Panjabi, Kashmiri, etc., were also produced. I have not been able to trace an extant copy of this item. The American Bible Society, which has a good collection of early Ludhiana imprints, mostly Biblical portions printed at its own expense, does not possess a copy. According to J. C. B. Webster, "Mission Sources of Nineteenth Century Punjab History" in W. E. Gustafson and K. W. Jones, eds., *Sources on Punjab History* (Delhi, 1975), p. 193, the Forman Christian College and the Gujranwala Theological Seminary, both in Lahore, "between them have the best collection of Lodiana Mission pamphlets anywhere." Perhaps a copy is to be found there.
32. Wherry, p. 40.
33. R. Wilson, "Some Historical Gleanings from Old Mission Records," *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, Vol. 2, pt. 2 (1933), pp. 125-126; *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions* (New York, 1842), p. 16.
34. *Historical Sketches*, p. 47.
35. If this figure is approximately correct, then the *Lodiana Akhbar* when printed may have appeared weekly since the total number of copies printed in 1841 was 2250, i.e., an average of forty-two copies per week.
36. *Historical Sketches*, p. 47.
37. *First Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 8. For exact figures of the amount of printing executed in this and subsequent years, consult the table given.
38. *Second Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions* (New York, 1839), pp. 7-8.
39. *Catalogue of Books Contained in the Library of the American Bible Society* (New York, 1855), p. 57. It may be noted here that T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1903-11) do not seem to acknowledge the early translations of the Scriptures into Urdu by the Ludhiana missionaries, although they have taken account of their early Panjabi translations (pp. 742-753 on Western Hindi-Urdu and pp. 1191-1195 on Panjabi). The earliest Ludhiana Urdu imprint mentioned dates from as late as 1883.
40. *Historical Sketches*, p. 109.
41. See footnote 26. A printing office had been opened here before 1830, run by Mrs. Greenway, assisted by two of her sons T. and William Greenway (*Periodical Accounts from the Serampore Mission*, No. V [1830], p. 324).
42. *Historical Sketches*, p. 109; Wherry, pp. 27-28.
43. Murdoch, p. 52; *Historical Sketches*, pp. 111-113; also my appendix.
44. A list of his translations is given in Wherry, p. 332.
45. *Third Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions* (New York, 1840), p. 6.
46. R. Morris, "Sketch of the Lodiana American Mission," *Calcutta Christian Observer* (New Series), No. 12, December, 1840, p. 741. Copies of both are in the American Bible Society's library.
47. *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions* (New York, 1841), p. 12.
48. *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the American Bible Society* (New York, 1840),

- p. 56. A list of societies which contributed towards the cost of printing operations at Ludhiana is given in *Historical Sketches*, p. 48.
49. *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the American Bible Society* (New York, 1843), p. 70.
 50. *A Manual of Missions*, p. 41.
 51. *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 12.
 52. R. Morris, art. cit., p. 741. The American Bible Society has copies of both the Scripture portions.
 53. Darlow and Moule, p. 1192, item 7258.
 54. Ibid., p. 1191, item 7253.
 55. S. P. Carey, *William Carey, D.D.*, 6th ed. (London, 1925), p. 408.
 56. Darlow and Moule, p. 1191, items 7254-7257.
 57. *Tenth Memoir Respecting the Translations*, p. 56.
 58. "Literary Work of the American Presbyterian Mission, North India," *Indian Evangelical Review*, 13 (July and October, 1886), pp. 43-63 and 152-169.
 59. *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 12.
 60. *Historical Sketches*, p. 48.
 61. *A Manual of Missions*, p. 52.
 62. Ibid.
 63. *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 12.
 64. The earliest items printed in Tibetan listed by Murdoch (pp. 98-99) are two tracts published by the Agra Tract Society in 1853. The first work published by the Moravian Mission was a Gospel Harmony translated by H. A. Jaeschke and lithographed by A. W. Heyde in 1861 (Darlow and Moule, pp. 1601-1602, item 9265).
 65. Wherry, p. 53.
 66. *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 16.
 67. Two copies of each are in the library of the American Bible Society.
 68. *Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions* (New York, 1843), p. 16.
 69. Curiously enough, these editions are not represented in the collection of the American Bible Society, nor are they mentioned by Darlow and Moule. See also footnote 39.
 70. *Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions* (New York, 1844), p. 21.
 71. According to the catalogue of the American Bible Society's library (pp. 57-58), the two Urdu editions were printed not in 1843 but in 1842.
 72. *Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions* (New York, 1845), p. 13.
 73. Ibid.
 74. Ibid.
 75. Wherry, p. 43.
 76. *Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions* (New York, 1846), p. 19.
 77. Darlow and Moule, p. 1192, item 7259. According to the catalogue of the library of the American Bible Society (p. 73), a separate edition of St. Mark's Gospel was printed in 1846.
 78. *Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 19.
 79. A fuller account of the Mutiny Fire is given by Wherry, pp. 94-96.

80. Lowrie, *Two Years in Upper India*, p. 242.
81. This was not, it may be noted, the very first attempt to print a Panjabi grammar. In 1812 the Serampore Press issued William Carey's *Grammar of the Punjabee Language*, to which Newton indirectly refers in the preface to his own work. In 1838, Lieutenant R. Leech of the Bombay Engineers, described as an "assistant on a mission to Kabul," had published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 7 (1838), 538-556, an "Epitome of the Grammars of the Brahuiky, Balochky, and Panjabi Languages," the Panjabi portion of which was reprinted the same year by the Bombay Government Press as *A Grammar of the Panjabee Language*.
82. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, *Indo-Aryan Family Central Group*. Part I: *Specimens of Western Hindi and Pañjābī* (Calcutta, 1916), p. 609.
83. Wherry, pp. 41-42. An earlier attempt at an English-Panjabi dictionary was made by Captain S. C. Starkey of the 3rd Regiment, Sikh Local Infantry, and was published in Calcutta in 1849. It was entitled *A Dictionary, English and Punjabee, Outlines of Grammar, also Dialogues, English and Punjabee, with Grammar and Explanatory Notes* (contains no Gurmukhi script).
84. *Historical Sketches*, p. 170.
85. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.
88. Wherry, pp. 40-41.
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Historical Sketches*, p. 113.
91. *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 14.
92. *Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 19.
93. *Historical Sketches*, p. 120.
94. *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 15.
95. *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 20. It may be added that, just like those produced at Ludhiana, these early Biblical translations into both Hindi and Urdu printed at Allahabad are not mentioned by Darlow and Moule.
96. Like the 1841 editions, these are not in the library of the American Bible Society.
97. *Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 20.
98. *Historical Sketches*, p. 121.
99. Further details on the early development of the Allahabad Mission Press may be found in the Reverend Joseph Warren's own account, *A Glance Backward at Fifteen Years of Missionary Life in North India* (Philadelphia, 1856).

“The Yellow-haired Fiend”—Rossetti and the Sensational Novel

T. J. EDELSTEIN*

OF the primary artistic triumvirate of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, Dante Gabriel Rossetti never achieved the widespread popularity of the other two. William Holman Hunt's *Light of the World* became an immediately recognizable image to the Victorians; and John Everett Millais' protean facility, which he had exhibited as a youth, continued throughout the period. He developed into one of the best known and best loved of contemporary artists. His *Huguenot* and *Black Brunswicker* captured the public imagination just as his *Bubbles*, done for the Pears Soap Company, captured the public purse. Ironically, it was the art of Rossetti, who even shunned the Royal Academy Exhibitions, which served as the inspiration for one of the most popular literary phenomena of the age, the sensation novel. To at least one sensation novelist, Mary Elizabeth Braddon (later Mrs. Maxwell), the term Pre-Raphaelite, certainly one of Ruskin's "masked words" to us, one that eludes precise definition, was, in fact, descriptive of the mature style of Rossetti. Furthermore, it is impossible to say whether or not sensation fiction influenced Rossetti in turn. Thus, in the rather problematical relationship between these examples of the "high art" of Rossetti and the "low art" of the sensation novel, we find one Victorian attempt to solve the riddle of defining Pre-Raphaelitism.

The close correlation between Rossetti's conception of women and the seductive, immoral heroines of contemporaneous Victorian sensation novels is quickly apparent. In most of these novels, of which hundreds were published and widely read, the plot centers on a captivatingly beautiful girl, frequently with reddish-golden hair, who is, in reality, evil and selfish, usually breaking most of the moral

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rules of society. In the same way, Rossetti's women challenge prudish Victorian morality, not only by their sensuality and hinted evil, but also through the themes they represent. Thus we note the compositions of Helen of Troy, whose beauty led to the destruction of a civilization; Pandora, pictured with the box that released disaster and ruin into the world; Lucretia Borgia, whose poisonous exploits are well known; or Lady Lilith, the beautiful witch who seduced Adam, subsequently giving birth to devils. Admittedly, the progeny of the heroines of the sensation novels do not assume this shape, but parallels between the two character types are striking because they both violate the mores of society, and are similar in physical type. Furthermore, the interdependence of these types becomes clearer if we examine a specific novel and a painting which emphasize them.

In "Sensation Novels," H. L. Mansel suggests this comparison when he states that Miss Braddon "draw[s] highly-coloured portraits of beautiful fiends,"¹ a description that could just as easily apply to the lovely, yet sinister, creatures of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Significantly, Mansel chooses terms of painting to convey his idea; and indeed, Miss Braddon herself compared one of her creations to a Pre-Raphaelite painting in her most successful work, *Lady Audley's Secret*, published in 1862. This best-selling novel relates the story of Helen Talboys, a captivating beauty, who becomes Lady Audley by committing bigamy, later resorting to arson and murder to conceal her original crime. Yet, despite the wickedness beneath her lovely veneer, Lady Audley enchants all who know her, just as the viewer overcomes his initial discomfort and succumbs to Rossetti's visions of women, their beauty dispelling, though perhaps only momentarily, their wickedness.

Interestingly, the evil lurking in Lady Audley's angelic face reveals itself when a Pre-Raphaelite brother painted her portrait, "for my lady, in his portrait of her, had something of the aspect of a beautiful fiend."²

No one but a pre-Raphaelite would have so exaggerated every attribute of that delicate face as to give . . . a strange, sinister light to the deep blue eyes . . . [and] have given to that pretty pouting mouth the hard and almost wicked look it had in the portrait.³

Thus, the "heroine" of Miss Braddon's work is modeled on a Pre-

Raphaelite example, specifically, in my opinion, on that of Rossetti. Correlations with the physical types of Rossetti are particularly striking: the exaggeration of features; the beautiful woman, who, in reality, embodies evil; the sinister, threatening eyes and hard, cruel mouth; but, perhaps most importantly, "the red gold gleaming in the yellow hair,"⁴ the "rippling, yellow curls," the "golden hair [falling] in loose, disheveled masses about her ivory throat and shoulders."⁵

This hair forms the strongest link between Rossetti's women and the immoral heroines of the sensation novel. In fact, Mrs. Oliphant's discussion of sensation novels refers to the female type of sensation heroine as "that disgusting witch with her red or amber hair," a truly striking correspondence to the subject and physical type of Rossetti's painting of Lady Lilith, which indeed portrays a witch with reddish-golden hair. Furthermore, Mrs. Oliphant states that "hair, indeed, in general, has become one of the leading properties in fiction"⁶ and, we might add, in Rossetti's art, where hair grows thick and luxuriant, filling the picture plane.⁷ Thus we see Fazio's mistress braiding her long golden hair, Lucretia Borgia's mounds of brilliant, thick, reddish-yellow hair dominating a crowded composition, or Lady Lilith combing her titian hair, extending it across the canvas. It is the iconographic development of the latter composition which so closely parallels important aspects of the portrayal of the sensation-novel heroine.

Lady Lilith⁸ (fig. 1) reclines in a chair, surrounded by a bower of white roses flecked with pink buds, wrapped in a mantle of cream-colored fur.⁹ Yet all the rich detail around her, the roses and foxgloves, the diadem of flowers strung on a blue ribbon lying in her lap, even the luxuriant garden reflected in her antique mirror with candles and a small decorative jar in front of it, go unnoticed as she sits, supremely indifferent, with her off-white dress falling from her ivory shoulders. While gazing almost wistfully into her hand mirror, she runs a comb through her rippling reddish-golden tresses, which seem to emit a light of their own as she extends them across the picture plane. Certainly many women, particularly lovely ones, have sat in similar positions;¹⁰ yet something differentiates Lady Lilith, something which F. G. Stephens, a fellow Pre-Raphaelite, has captured in his description of Rossetti's painting:

. . . she appears in the ardent languor of triumphant luxury and beauty . . . [possessing] passion without love and languor without satiety—energy without heart, and beauty without tenderness or sympathy for others—for her lovers least of all.¹¹

I think we may infer from Stephens's statement that Rossetti had succeeded in creating a visual representation of the evil Lilith of Talmudic legend, the "incarnation of the world and the flesh," "the elemental power of carnal loveliness"¹² and that all elements of the painting contribute to this effect.

One of the most noticeable aspects of the painting is its two-dimensionality, its composition being a dark screen with roses against which the luminous figure of Lady Lilith confronts us. This technique has the effect of pushing the figure of the witch up to the picture plane making her seem all the more menacing.¹³ Aside from increasing the threatening aspect of Lady Lilith, Rossetti's placement of her in no actual space gives the scene a timelessness, an impression heightened by such details as Lilith's dress which can be ascribed to no specific period. This feeling of timelessness is essential to Rossetti's conception of Lilith for, by his own description, he envisions his creation not only as a representation of Adam's first wife but as a modern Lilith as well,¹⁴ a Lilith of all times.

Rossetti distorts his figure to emphasize her sensuality and languor. We see an unusually long ivory neck, arms, and fingers while we are treated to the breadth of her shoulders and bosom, a pose which is anatomically almost impossible. Rossetti also increases her sexuality by the rich texture of the painting, the contrast between her ivory dress and soft flesh which, in turn, harmonizes with the fluffy mantle, an interesting contrast of whites, and, above all, by her luxuriant crown of seductive golden hair.

Unifying devices of line and color also contribute to the expressive effect of his theme. The movement in the painting, beginning at the glowing accent of Lilith's hair, travels slowly down her long neck to her shoulder and then up the long tapered fingers of her left hand and back to her hair, thus stressing the sensuality of her form. Furthermore, the touches of red re-emphasize these same characteristics; our eye is caught by the purplish-red bunch of foxgloves lying atop her wooden box at the same time that we become aware of her hair, while the pink accents of the rosebuds slow our movement up to

the crown of her head. We then move down the undulating line of her body, attracted by the red poppy placed in a green glass jar in the corner of the painting. Here the lines of her body become obscured, but the deeper brownish-red cloth covering the chair keeps us from resting too long in the corner of the painting. At that point we are attracted to her coral bracelet and the magenta tassel of the mirror and we return again to the softly curling hair and bunch of flowers. These flowers, however, contribute not only to the visual effect of the painting; they are integral to the iconography as well.

We see a similar duality of purpose in the frame of the picture, an aspect of the work that Rossetti considered very important, since he sometimes designed the frame himself.¹⁵ Thus, the broad gold bands of the frame unify the curving lines of the composition, and the sonnet beneath the picture complements the iconography of the painting.

‘Of Adam’s first wife, Lilith, it is told
(The witch he loved before the gift of Eve,)
That, ere the snake’s, her sweet tongue could deceive,
And her enchanted hair was the first gold.
And still she sits, young while the earth is old,
And, subtly of herself contemplative,
Draws men to watch the bright web she can weave,
Till heart and body and life are in its hold.

The rose and poppy are her flowers; for where
Is he not found, O Lilith, whom shed scent
Soft-shed fingers and soft sleep shall snare?
Lo! as that youth’s eyes burned at thine, so went
Thy spell through him, and left his straight neck bent
And round his heart one strangling golden hair.’¹⁶

The images of this sonnet both elucidate and intensify the pictorial conception. Thus we read that Lilith, a witch, was Adam’s wife before Eve, succeeding in tempting him, before the serpent, with sweet words and golden curls. The adjective “enchanted” applied to her hair particularly enhances the timeless, unearthly quality of the painting, emphasizing, as well, the importance of this seductive hair. Thus she sits “subtly of herself contemplative.” Rossetti goes on to explain the significance of the rose and the poppy in the painting, paralleling them with the wiles Lilith utilizes to snare her

victims, always successful in her pursuit. He allies the rose—which also means beauty, youth, love, and desire, all characteristics of Lilith herself—with scent (interestingly, in the published version of this poem, “Body’s Beauty” printed in *House of Life*, Rossetti substitutes soft-shed kisses for fingers).¹⁷ Poppies, emblems of evil and dissipation, exert their opiate effect to create the soft sleep that conquers Lilith’s victims. Perhaps the most striking image in the poem details the effect of Lilith’s seduction of Adam in which Rossetti depicts him conquered and ashamed “and round his heart one strangling golden hair.” It is the same hair which Lilith languidly combs and which proves to be the center of the expressive ideas of the painting.

Therefore, we have seen that the structure of the painting and the explanatory sonnet both emphasize Lilith’s hair, which seems to embody her evil. Even its color suggests fire, passion, and evil, the long, glowing, reddish strands taking on the appearance of flames. Furthermore, an examination of the history of the painting will show that Rossetti progressively emphasized the tresses of Lilith and their sinister quality.

Rossetti began the painting in 1864, using Fanny Cornforth as a model. Her features, however, do not exist in the painting as it is today. In 1872 and 1873 Rossetti repainted the canvas, substituting the features of Alexa Wilding for those of Fanny. The recorded opinion of those who saw the painting in both states unanimously prefers the previous version. Thus, Marillier extends his sympathies to Mr. F. R. Leyland, the owner of the painting, for having conceded to Rossetti’s request to repaint it, and Francis Hueffer, in his review of the Rossetti exhibition at Burlington House, comments that the painting was not improved by the repainting. Even Rossetti’s own brother, William Michael states: “The latter [Fanny Cornforth] also sat . . . in the first instance for *Lilith*; but another head—that of Miss Alexa Wilding . . . was, after an interval of years, substituted in *Lilith*, and, to my thinking, very disadvantageously so.”¹⁸ I question the condemnation of the painting as it now exists, for I think that Rossetti wanted to stress certain expressive elements, characteristics that accentuated the evil side of Lady Lilith.¹⁹

The progressive prominence of the hair of Lilith, the most potent

image of the sonnet, is made evident by looking at the development of the composition. Two early pencil studies show Rossetti concentrating on the placement of the body. The first²⁰ (fig. 2) is a rather tentative sketch in which Fanny's hair is simply a tangled web of lines and falls fairly close to her head. Next,²¹ (fig. 3) Rossetti turns his attention to Lilith's off-the-shoulder dress and her placement in the chair. Her hair is ignored as a pictorial problem; Rossetti simply draws it as a chignon caught up in a net. By 1866, in a crayon study of the half-length figure of Fanny²² (fig. 4), he has emphasized the hair so that Lilith draws her comb through it, pulling it until it fills almost half the page. It still remains, however, an almost undifferentiated mass, fusing imperceptibly into the soft, curving, crayon lines that define her dress. Rossetti's increasing interest in Lilith's hair as the key to her seductive powers, the same weapon wielded by the women of the sensation novels, is demonstrated by a verse he appended to the back of an 1867 watercolor replica of the composition. This replica is partly attributed to Rossetti's assistant H. T. Dunn, but a label on the back, in Rossetti's hand, reads:

Lady Lilith. Watercolour. D. G. Rossetti 1867.

"Beware of her hair, for she excels
All women in the magic of her locks
And when she twines them round a young man's neck
She will not ever set him free again."

(Goethe)²³

Thus, the key image of the work is the hair of Lilith, which has the power to entrap men. In this verse from Goethe we see not only the source for Rossetti's pictorial emphasis, but also for his final, powerful poetic image "and round his heart one strangling golden hair."

Some sense of the original appearance of the painting can be had from a photograph of the first version (fig. 5). The most striking difference between this and the painting as it now exists is the treatment of the hair. In the photograph, and in the crayon study of 1866, Rossetti drew the hair with a freedom and looseness of stroke. The hair in the finished painting, on the other hand, is painstakingly drawn. Furthermore, the contours of Alexa Wilding's face in the final version seem hard when contrasted to Fanny's soft fleshiness; the eyes become cat-like; the jaw assumes an almost unnatural sharpness. But above all, each strand of hair is transformed into an indi-

vidual curling rope, ready to snare weak, mortal flesh, a conception quite different from Fanny's fluffy mane. Thus we see that the changes magnify the devilish evil quality, bringing painting and sonnet even closer together.

We know that Rossetti did not lose interest in the theme of Lilith, because in 1869 he received a letter from Ponsonby Lyons in response to a query concerning the Lilith iconography.²⁴ This letter relates many more details than Rossetti learned from his original source, Goethe's *Faust*. For example, Lyons relates that, according to the Talmud, Adam lived with Lilith against his will, their progeny being devils, spirits, and female devils called Lilin. Furthermore, although Adam and Lilith were both made of earth, God created Lilith from the filth of the earth, a fitting source for one of the four wives of Satan. Apparently, this information prompted Rossetti to repaint the picture, emphasizing the sinister qualities. And, it is this expressive element, evil, when considered in conjunction with the color and treatment of the hair, which provides the close affinity with the Victorian sensation novel.

M. E. Braddon's *Lady Audley* is not the only example of the striking similarity between the fiends of fiction and Rossetti's women. For example, the heroine of *Cometh Up As a Flower*, by Rhoda Broughton, when trying to convince her lover to rescue her from an unwanted marriage, throws her hair "in its splendid ruddy billows over his great shoulder."²⁵ The typically selfish, unfaithful female of Edmund Yates's *Land at Last* possesses "long, thick, luxuriant hair, of a deep red-gold colour."²⁶ Perhaps even more striking is the resemblance between the following parts of Ouida's *Strathmore* and Rossetti's women, for here we have not only physical similarity, the golden hair and languor of expression so prevalent in Rossetti's work, but also seduction through beauty. Furthermore, the images in this passage correspond to those Rossetti used in the sonnet accompanying *Lady Lilith*. Ouida writes:

Lord Cecil stooped over her, spending breathless kisses on her lips, and passing his hands through the golden-scented hair which floated on her shoulders. Every single shining thread might have been a sorcery-twisted withe, that bound him powerless, so utterly he bowed before her power, so utterly he was blinded to all that lay beyond the delicious languor and sensuous joys which steeped his present in their rich delight.²⁷

Thus the image of the shining strands of hair that seduce the hero of Ouida's tale correspond to the "one strangling golden hair" that captured the heart of Adam and left him shameful, "his straight neck bent" in the same way that the hero in the novel "utterly . . . bowed before her power." We can therefore see a link, not only in physical type, but in imagery as well, in which the golden strands of hair strangle the wayward man, an idea also suggested by Rossetti's painting *Fazio's Mistress* in which the seductress makes a rope of her titian locks.

The predominance of reddish- or golden-haired females among the writers of sensation novels and in the work of Dante Gabriel Rossetti can perhaps be explained by the immoral connotations of reddish hair. Red-haired women were generally considered brazen or corrupt, a conception that makes Rossetti's use of such coloring particularly apt for the fallen women Mary Magdalene, the prostitute of *Found*, or his other wicked, seductive creatures: Helen of Troy, the fair Rosamund, and Lady Lilith. In fact, the relationship of Lady Lilith to Mary Magdalene is suggested not only by her long red-gold hair but also by the decorative jar which Rossetti places in front of the mirror and which recalls the Magdalene's ointment jar. But although the connotations of reddish-blond hair made it valuable to sensation artists and caused it to be widely used (thus becoming the prototype of the yellow-haired fiend of fiction), titian hair does not adorn all models of sensation artists.

These creators also capitalized on the evil, mysterious connotations of raven hair. Conspicuous among the dark-haired beauties of fiction is Mary Elizabeth Braddon's Aurora Floyd, whose beautiful form and shining dark curls mask a selfish, unfaithful, cruel woman whose anti-social behavior even extends to bigamy. Significantly, the evil nature of Miss Braddon's heroine is chiefly characterized by her hair. Thus we read of "Aurora, with her coronet of plaits dead black against the purple air,"²⁸ of that "small head with its crown of lustrous raven hair,"²⁹ "the coils of her black hair,"³⁰ or the "thick plaits of her dark hair" that made "a great diadem upon her low forehead."³¹ Other examples of dark-haired fiends include Olivia of *John Marchmont's Legacy*, also by Miss Braddon, whose "hair was long and luxuriant; but it was of that dead, inky blackness which is all shadow. It was dark, fathomless, inscrutable, like herself."³²



Fig. 1 *Lady Lilith*. Reproduced by courtesy of the Delaware Art Museum, where it is a part of the Samuel and Mary Bancroft Collection.



Fig. 2 Pencil sketch for *Lady Lilith*. Reproduced by courtesy of the Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery.



Fig. 3 Pencil sketch for *Lady Lilith*. Reproduced by courtesy of the Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery.



Fig. 4 Crayon study for *Lady Lilith*. Reproduced by courtesy of the Tel Aviv Museum.



Fig. 5 The original state of *Lady Lilith*. Reproduced by courtesy of the Delaware Art Museum.

Thus again we see the dark, mysterious associations of raven hair.

Neither are examples of this hair color lacking in the art of Rossetti, who used a dark-haired model for his threatening visions as well as the fair-haired type. Many examples of his almost iconic dark-haired sensuous women exist, among them being Monna Pomona, with her ample quantities of dark hair, proffering the apple of the Fall. He also portrays Pandora, whose model, Jane Morris, appears numerous times, her sensuous face and abundant, curling raven hair gracing such compositions as *Astarte Syriaca*. Again, as in the sensation novel, similar elements characterize each heroine: a beautiful form which, however, cannot hide an evil, passionate nature and, as always, whether it be red, golden, or black, the crown of thick, luxuriant hair.

By examining the descriptive vocabulary of both the sensation novelists and Rossetti we can indeed establish that hair became a major expressive device of these artists. But why was hair used to characterize these immoral women, to emphasize their sensual aspects? Perhaps the main explanation stems from the connotations of loose, unfastened hair. If someone "lets down her hair," it means that she has lost all inhibitions and so is like a character in a sensation novel who ignores the mores of her society. Furthermore, according to Victorian custom, women wore their hair up during the day, letting it down only when they retired for the night, another origin for the sensual connotations of flowing hair. The prevalence of seduction through hair, occurring, for example, in *Strathmore* and *Cometh Up As a Flower* is, therefore, partially explained by the nocturnal associations of unfastened hair. Thus, this specific suggestion of flowing hair, when added to the inherently seductive aspects of hair, results in such conquests as Aurora Floyd's over the courageous, virile, Talbot Bulstrode, a commander in Her Majesty's Forces and heir to a baronetcy, who "having once abandoned himself to the spell of the siren, made no further struggle, but fairly fell into the pitfalls of her eyes, and was entangled in the meshy network of her blue-black hair."³³ To the Victorians, hair, like sexuality, was to be hidden from public view, mostly because of its sensual connotations; so, the great masses of hair displayed by the sensation novel's heroine made her immoral behavior even more shocking by lending credibility to her evil nature.

It is impossible to define precisely to what degree Rossetti influenced the writers of sensation novels or was influenced by them. Near the end of his life in 1882, he did write to Watts-Dunton and to his sister about reading the works of M. E. Braddon, with a particular mention of *Aurora Floyd*.³⁴ The close correlation with the themes of the scandalous sensation novels probably contributed to Rossetti's lack of popular success at the beginning of his career and, on the other hand, helped draw the large crowds to his retrospective exhibition. In a review of this exhibition, Cosmo Monkhouse wrote that Rossetti's women "have conjointly produced something like a revolution in the popular ideal."³⁵ Perhaps both Rossetti and sensation novelists were reacting against the idealized, pure, noble female revered by Victorian society, for in these works woman is the embodiment of evil, not the quintessence of goodness who formed the foundation of the family and Victorian society as a whole. The Women's Rights Movement might also provide a further explanation, because contemporary reviews referred to both the sensation novel heroine and Lady Lilith as "New Women."³⁶

Despite these parallels, however, the sensation novel differed markedly in one respect from the art of Rossetti, in the realm of social acceptability. Rossetti's threatening, evil visions of women, pushed close to the picture plane, only began to gain wide acceptance after his death. The sensation novel, on the other hand, with its similar view of women challenging the preconceptions of Victorian society, gained widespread popularity. Although both the painter and the sensation novelist presented this anti-social female, Rossetti's representations remain fixed and unchanged after the final varnishing, while the fictional stories resolve the threatening aspects of the character. Therefore, in each book, the sinner, unlike Rossetti's women, is reformed, returned to the pale of society. Thus, Lady Audley atones to society by dying alone and friendless, incarcerated in a mental hospital, while Lady Isabella Vane of Mrs. Henry Wood's *East Lynne* bears her cross by returning to the scene of her lost happiness. But perhaps the most dramatic example of how the sensation novelist made the heroine palatable to the public taste is the reformation of that archetypal sensation-novel heroine, Aurora Floyd, with her cruel, violent temper and seductive purple-black hair.

So we leave Aurora, a little changed, a shade less defiantly bright, perhaps,

but unspeakably beautiful and tender, bending over the cradle of her first born.³⁷

NOTES

1. [H. L. Mansel], "Sensation Novels," *The Quarterly Review*, 113 (April 1863), 491.
2. Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Lady Audley's Secret* (1887; rpt. New York, 1974), p. 47.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., pp. 187, 241. Appropriately, a cartoon in *Punch* suggested that Lady Audley's secret was that she was bald! "Lady Audley's Secret," *Punch*, 44 (1863), 198.
6. [Mrs. Margaret Oliphant], "Novels," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 102 (September 1867), 269 and 277.
7. Mrs. Gaskell astutely said of Rossetti, "He is not mad as a March hare, but hair-mad" (letter to Charles Eliot Norton, October 1859, quoted in Oswald Doughty, *A Victorian Romantic* [London, 1960], p. 251).
8. Oil, 37½ x 32, signed, and dated 1868. Originally owned by F. R. Leyland, now in the Samuel and Mary Bancroft Collection, Wilmington Society of Fine Arts, Delaware. See Virginia Surtees, *The Paintings and Drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: a Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford, 1971), I, 116-117.
9. The juxtaposition of Lilith's off-white dress and mantle of cream-colored fur may derive from Whistler's *White Girl* of 1862. For a general discussion, see Alastair Grieve, "Whistler and the Pre-Raphaelites," *The Art Quarterly*, 34 (1971), 219-228. Grieve, p. 222, speculates on the relationship of *Lady Lilith* to Courbet's portrait of Whistler's mistress Jo, painted in 1865, in which she seizes her hair and stretches it across the picture plane.
10. Rossetti's composition may, in fact, owe something to Titian's *Venus with a Mirror* in the Louvre, which Rossetti could have seen on his trip to Paris in 1849. In Titian's work we see a full-figured woman with long, wavy, red-gold hair, who contemplates herself in a mirror.
11. F. G. Stephens, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, The Portfolio Artistic Monographs, No. 5 (London, 1894), pp. 68-69.
12. H. C. Marillier, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London, 1899), p. 132.
13. In all probability, Rossetti derived this decorative two-dimensional effect from Japanese prints, because his brother states, "In these years [1862-1868] Rossetti developed a kind of passion for collecting curious objects of art—chairs and tables, cabinets, hangings, looking glasses . . . and most particularly Japanese prints and oddities" (*Dante Gabriel Rossetti, His Family-Letters with a Memoir by William Michael Rossetti* [Boston, 1895], I, 263). This passage also explains

- the objects in the painting, such as the wooden box, mother-of-pearl scent bottle, and antique pewter mirror with its candle holders.
14. Letter to Thomas Gordon Hake, April 21, 1870, in *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, ed. Oswald Doughty and John Robert Wahl, II (Oxford, 1967), 850.
 15. A. Grieve, "The Applied Art of D. G. Rossetti—1. His Picture-Frames," *The Burlington Magazine*, 115 (January–April 1973), pp. 16–24. Grieve does not, however, discuss this painting.
 16. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "Lady Lilith," inscription on frame, Bancroft Collection, Wilmington, Delaware. Scholars generally assume that Rossetti's sonnets are necessary to explain the paintings. In his letter to Hake mentioned above, however, Rossetti made this interesting statement: "The picture is called *Lady Lilith* by rights (only I thought this would present a difficulty in print without paint to explain it)."
 17. Sonnet LXXVIII. Surtees, loc. cit., mistakenly quotes this later version, perhaps assuming the two to be identical.
 18. *Rossetti, His Family-Letters*, I, 241.
 19. In fairness to Rossetti's critics, I must state that in some places the picture is overpainted, certain patches being very dull and lifeless. Rossetti, however, was convinced that he had improved the composition. In a letter to Ford Madox Brown of May 28, 1873, he wrote: "He [Leyland] has every reason to be pleased with the way I have worked for him lately—having very greatly increased the value of two pictures (*Lilith* and *Loving Cup*) for him without asking a penny . . .," *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, III (Oxford, 1967), 1175.
 20. Surtees, I, 117. This is a pencil sketch, $7\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$, originally owned by William Michael Rossetti, now in the Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery.
 21. Surtees, loc. cit. Also a pencil sketch, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$, originally owned by William Michael Rossetti, now in the Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery.
 22. Ibid. A crayon study, $24\frac{1}{2} \times 22\frac{7}{8}$, with a monogram in the upper right corner. Originally owned by F. S. Ellis, now in the Israeli Art Museum, Tel Aviv.
 23. Surtees, I, 117–118. A watercolor, $20 \times 16\frac{7}{8}$, signed with a monogram, and dated 1867 in the lower left. Originally owned by William Coltart, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
 24. William Michael Rossetti, *Rossetti Papers, 1862 to 1870* (New York, 1903), pp. 484–486.
 25. Rhoda Broughton, *Cometh Up As a Flower*, 2 vols. (London, 1867). Quoted by Mrs. Oliphant, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 102 (September 1867), 268.
 26. E. H. Yates, *Land at Last: a Novel in Three Books* (London, 1866), as quoted by Mrs. Oliphant p. 270.
 27. Ouida (Marie Louise de la Ramée), *Strathmore* (London, 1865), I, 265–266. First published in *New Monthly Magazine*. Quoted in "Belles Lettres," *The Westminster Review* (American edition), 84 (October 1865), 268. A parody of Ouida's novel alludes to just such a passage: "Then . . . he passed a dainty honey-comb through his silken *rougissant* hair. Then, throwing it carelessly aside, he pointed to another comb of carat gold, which seemed to be of the

- same Rubens-like hue as his own scented curls, and which, itself the gift of a lovely Circassian heiress, was so craftily constructed that, as it passed through his glorious locks, it performed modulated airs from the works of the best masters. . . ." ("Our New Novel, Entitled Strapmore! A Romance by Weeder," *Punch*, 74 [1878], 105.)
28. M. E. Braddon, *Aurora Floyd* in *Temple Bar*, 4 (1862), 377. The novel was begun in this volume on p. 239, appeared in installments, and was concluded at 7 (1863), 279. It was published separately in three volumes in 1863.
 29. *Temple Bar*, 4 (1862), 395.
 30. *Ibid.*, p. 528.
 31. *Ibid.*, p. 372.
 32. M. E. Braddon, *John Marchmont's Legacy*, 3 vols. (London, 1863). Quoted in [W. Fraser Rae], "Sensation Novelists: Miss Braddon," *The North British Review* (American edition), 43 (September 1865), 100.
 33. *Temple Bar*, 4 (1862), 505.
 34. Letter to Christina Rossetti, received February 27, 1882. *Dante Gabriel Rossetti, His Family-Letters*, II, 395. "I have done a little painting, but, for want of sufficient to work on, have been reduced to reading Miss Braddon—who, however, has risen in my estimation." Also a letter to Walter Theodore Watts-Dunton, February 16, 1882. *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, IV (1967), 1944. "I am tackling *Aurora Floyd*, which is much better written than *Henry Dunbar*."
 35. Cosmo Monkhouse, "Rossetti's Pictures at the Royal Academy," *The Academy*, 23 (1883), 14.
 36. "Here, too, we find the new creed about woman. The New Woman, as we read of her in recent novels, possesses not only the velvet, but the claws of the tiger. She is no longer the Angel, but the Devil in the House" (*The Westminster Review*, 84 [October 1865], 268).
 37. *Temple Bar*, 7 (1863), 276.

St. Deiniol Cathedral's Manuscript of John de Burgh's *Pupilla oculi*

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A MANUSCRIPT owned in the fifteenth century by St. Deiniol's Cathedral in Bangor (Wales) is now in the Henry Charles Lea Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Library in Philadelphia: MS. Lea 23 (Lat.). The ex libris of St. Deiniol's is on the last page. The volume contains the *Pupilla oculi* by John de Burgh, chancellor of the University of Cambridge in the latter part of the fourteenth century. The wanderings of this manuscript in modern times are unclear. Other notes on the last page mention among other places of ownership Llandregarne in Anglesey. It may be that during misfortunes at Bangor the book was taken to Llandregarne for safe-keeping. At all events, it escaped the destruction of the cathedral library in the Civil War. Names of some seventeenth- or eighteenth-century owners appear in the margins of folios 89r (Hugh Roberts, and the date 1672), 158v (Charles Hurleston, Thomon Simon Jones), 159r (Charles Hurleston). A curious note on folio 36v says "John Hurleston not his book 1690." Sir Thomas Phillipps acquired the manuscript from Kerslake in 1858 (Phillipps MS. 20547), and it was sold at Sotheby's (as lot 106) to Tregaskis in 1895. Henry C. Lea bought the manuscript from Tregaskis in the following year and it passed to the University as part of the bequest of his library.

The manuscript is no longer in the original binding. It was rebound in the nineteenth century in cream-colored vellum over thin boards. Save for slight damage to some leaves, the volume is in fair condition. It comprises 193 vellum leaves and measures 25 x 18 cm. The text is written in two columns with a range of 40–50 lines to a column. The writing, by a single scribe, is in a clearly legible book-cursive of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, in the style known

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as Anglicana. Principal initials are blue, filled with red penwork, while smaller initial letters marking parts, chapters, or sections are alternately red and blue.

John de Burgh's treatise, *Pupilla oculi* or The Pupil of the Eye, written about 1384, is a manual to instruct parish priests in their preaching and ministry. Combining canon law and pastoral theology, it is arranged in ten parts, dealing with the sacraments, the consecration of churches, the Creed, Commandments, and so on. A helpful subject index and a table of chapters are found in some manuscripts of the work, and in the early printed editions. As we learn in part from John's introduction and further from the research of the Rev. Prof. L. E. Boyle, O.P.,¹ this treatise is a reworking of an earlier manual (of about 1320) by a Berkshire parish priest, William of Pagula (or William de Paul). William's manual offers the same kind of instruction as John's but in a more elaborate arrangement, following an outline prescribed by Archbishop John Peckham's Lambeth Council of 1281. This longer work is called *Oculus sacerdotis* because it treats what should come under The Eye, or Purview, of the Priest.² John's condensed revision is appropriately named The Pupil because it refocuses the instructions given in The Eye. Both works were probably in constant use: the wording of their legal directions is even reflected in the late fourteenth-century Sarum Manual.³

At least eight other copies of John de Burgh's work are known besides the one that belonged to St. Deiniol's Cathedral. They are preserved in the British Library, the Bodleian Library, and appropriately in Salisbury Cathedral. Two are of the late fourteenth century, copied shortly after the work was composed, the others of the early fifteenth, like St. Deiniol's. Although there are no incunable editions, the repeated copying in manuscript, and the appearance of printed editions in the sixteenth century, indicate that John de Burgh's endeavor was valued for a long time.

The author's name is recorded in the initial letters of the several chapters of the *Pupilla oculi*. They spell out in Latin the following information and prayer: "John de Burgh, rector of the church of Collingham, compiled this treatise; may God preserve his soul. Amen." The earliest biography of John is to be found in *De rebus anglicis* by John Pits (1619). This tells us that he took the degree of

Doctor of Sacred Theology at Cambridge. Thomas Tanner, in *Bibliotheca britannico-hibernica* (1748), adds that he finished his studies *summa cum laude*. Pits further reports that after obtaining his degree John proceeded to Collingham in Nottinghamshire as *pastor*. His energy, good-will, and exceptional intelligence being well known, he was invited back to Cambridge to assume the post of chancellor in 1384. He did not remain there long, however, but returned to Collingham in 1385, perhaps for reasons of health, for some say he died the next year. But other records show that he was still rector of (South) Collingham in 1398, in which year he was appointed vicar of Newark, Nottinghamshire.⁴

NOTES

1. Leonard E. Boyle, Alexander Prize Essay on the *Oculus sacerdotis* in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, vol. v (1955), pp. 84-85. A brief, unpublished study of John de Burgh and the manuscripts of the *Pupilla oculi* is included in Fr. Boyle's unpublished Oxford D.PHIL. thesis on William of Pagula, vol. I, pp. 402-10, vol. II, pp. 71-72.
2. The University of Pennsylvania Library owns a copy of this work, MS. Lat. 33 (England, early 15th century). Curiously, a few words among the notes on the last page of the John de Burgh manuscript are found also at the end of this copy of the *Oculus sacerdotis*.
3. A. Jefferies Collins, ed., *Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesie Sarisburiensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. xci (1960), pp. xvi-xix.
4. Alfred B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (1963), pp. 107, 672.

